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THE

EDINBURGH
MONTHLY REVIEW.

PUBLISHED BY WAUGH & INNES,
HUNTER SQUARE, EDINBURGH;
AND BY G. & W. B. WHITTAKER, AVE-MARIA LANE, AND
RODWELL & MARTIN, NEW BOND STREET,
LONDON.

SOLD ALSO BY JOHNSTON AND DEAS, DUBLIN, AND ALL THE PRINCIPAL
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Prospectus.

THIS Monthly Journal is intended to be a Review in the stricter sense of the word, avoiding all disquisition not essentially connected with a critical examination of the works noticed, and at the same time giving such statements of their contents as shall convey a clear and decided judgment on their merits. In this manner it is hoped that a satisfactory view will be given of the existing state of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts.

It is not intended to make Politics a regular topic of discussion; but as, from its importance, it will occasionally demand attention, it will be treated in a spirit of loyalty and patriotism, proceeding from attachment to the institutions of the country, and a jealous but cordial regard to the just authority of the Magistrate and the civil rights of the subject, considered as reciprocal and inseparable.

With respect to Religion, it is necessary to state, that whilst, from a firm conviction of the value of its truths, natural and revealed, nothing hostile to its interests shall be allowed to vitiate the pages of this work, there is no intention of giving it a peculiar prominency, and therefore that reviews of publications which treat of it will proceed chiefly on the consideration of their literary merits.

The Proprietors of this Journal submit their claim to the public attention, on the ground of the strictly critical nature of their plan, in the prosecution of which they are anxious to attain the honourable distinction of rendering their Publication an inviolate tribunal of literary equity.

Each Number, price 2/6, will contain at least seven sheets of letter-press, to be published on the first of every month.

The following Analysis of the first volume, commencing 1st January, 1819, now completed, may enable the reader to judge of the plan and principles of the work.

1st JULY, 1819.

ANALYSIS

OF

ARTICLES CONTAINED IN THE FIRST VOLUME,

Extending from January to June, 1819.

NUMBER FOR JANUARY.

Art. I. Birkbeck's *Letters from Illinois.* P. 1—20.

Policy of British Legislature in act for regulating emigration—various causes of emigration—our emigrant population have long turned to North America, and been tempted to the United States—purposes of these letters—some account of Mr. Birkbeck—his confidence greater than his experience—is anxious to vindicate his own conduct, and to induce followers—whimsical consolation for the want of good roads—contrasts his situation in America with that he had in England—his reasons for preferring the Illinois—affects to abhor slavery, while he adopts a country where it exists—makes a temporary cabin—process of *chunking* and *mudding*—has few neighbours—his letters not allowed both to vindicate and advise—his fortitude not thoroughly tried—his opinions and calculations somewhat hasty—the letters cannot show whether his hopes were realized—contradictory statements respecting price of labour—his remarks satisfactory as to prices of provisions—the letters become more political and less informing—Mr. Birkbeck a malcontent—wretched administration of law in Illinois accounts for the disorders which prevail—*squatting*, a violent invasion of property, very common—Mr. Birkbeck erroneous as to taxation—protection afforded by the United States weak and uncertain—emigrants from Scotland noted for patriotism, yet eminently successful in their enterprises—Mr. Birkbeck no way attached to his native country—emigration of such a man excites little sympathy—his abuse of the establishments and governments of Britain—state of religion in Mr. Birkbeck's colony appreciated—his character unfolded in the detection of his fallacies—our own colonies are to be preferred by emigrants, but it is not desirable that the discontented should visit them—concluding estimate of the credit due to Mr. Birkbeck's experience.

Art II. Evans's *Collection of Statutes.* P. 20—37.

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ART. V. Gentz *on the Liberty of the Press.* P. 538—558.

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ART. VII. Morgan's *Philosophy of Life*. P. 708—726.

Characteristic of the times—probable nature and effects of prevailing knowledge—general description of the work—peculiar sentiments of the author criticised—chief object of his undertaking—analysis of the chief contents, with extracts and animadversions—remarks on the literary merits of the work—opinion hazarded as to its value.

ART. VIII. *Voyage of Discovery to Baffin's Bay*. P. 726—746.

Prevalent information as to the object and result of this voyage—account of the Esquimaux—particulars respecting the progress of this expedition—controversy about Lancaster Sound undecided—consideration of Captain Ross's opinions and conduct somewhat unfavourable to him—his general inferences admitted, and why—what the amount of discovery stated—science little aided by this expedition—subject of the magnet most affected by it—Captain Sabine's "Remarks" greatly to the disadvantage of Captain Ross—the contents of them stated, with extracts—opinion of Maclaurin respecting a northern passage into the Pacific quoted with approbation.

*** This Analysis may be found useful, as presenting, in a small compass, the order, contents, principles, and opinions of the various criticisms. It will also bear to be read by itself. It has, therefore, something else than mere novelty to recommend it; and it has been judged preferable to a partial index, which is rarely consulted, and never read.

Amount of Articles, and of the Books, Pamphlets, or Essays, noticed.

	Articles.	Books, &c.
JANUARY,	9	14
FEBRUARY,	6	6
MARCH,	7	7
APRIL,	9	9
MAY,	9	14
JUNE,	8	13
	48	63

Edinburgh:
Printed by Balfour & Clarke.

A

MEMOIR

OF

CHARLES LOUIS SAND,

&c. &c

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CHARLES LOUIS SAND.

——— The tempest of my mind,
Doth from my senses take all feeling else,
Save what beats there!"

Shakspeare.

London, Published as the Act directs, August, 1819

A

MEMOIR

OF

CHARLES LOUIS SAND;

INCLUDING A

Narrative of the Circumstances

ATTENDING THE DEATH OF

AUGUSTUS VON KOTZEBUE:

ALSO,

A DEFENCE

OF

THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND EXPLANATORY NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

Embellished with a Portrait of Sand.

Les revolutions qui arrivent dans les grands etats ne sont point un effect du hazard, ni du caprice des peuples. Rein ne revolte les grands d'un royaume comme un gouvernement foible et derangé. Pour la populace, ce n'est jamais par envie d' attaquer qu' elle se souleve, mais par impatience de souffrir. *Memoires de Sully. Tom I. P.* 133.

Though this be madness, yet there's method in it!
Hamlet, Act II. Scene II.

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION.

As no other record of the transactions which led to and followed the death of M. Kotzebue, has extended beyond the limits of a few newspaper paragraphs, all of which are extremely contradictory and imperfect, the Editor presumes it is unnecessary to make any apology for the present publication. The Memoir, though no doubt susceptible of considerable improvement, is that which has been received and circulated as the most authentic in Germany; and although the Defence of the Universities may give rise to a difference of opinion, as to the author's success in establishing their complete vindication; there can be but one sentiment

entertained, with regard to the blameable course pursued by M. Kotzebue, so clearly explained by the writer. But heaven forbid the Editor should imagine that unfortunate victim merited such a tragical end, for the mere act of making comments, which, whether the result of honest conviction, or of venal profligacy, should still be corrected rather by the pen of the critic, than the knife of the assassin. Without being in any manner answerable for the doctrines or arguments of the Professor, the Editor could not be insensible to the importance of several of his facts and observations, the whole of which, he has done his utmost to place in the clearest point of view, leaving the final decision of their merits to a more competent tribunal.

In laying the following Memoir and Defence before a British public, the Editor is, however, induced to offer some preliminary remarks, explanatory of the motives which have prompted this undertaking, as well as for the purpose of disarming the prejudices of those, who are ever ready to put an evil

construction on the actions of others, if not perfectly in unison with their own mode of thinking.

The Editor has recently visited Germany; he has observed the extraordinary sensation created by the fate of M. Kotzebue, and has been very forcibly struck by the great degree of involuntary sympathy every where so eagerly manifested in favour of the perpetrator Sand, whose portrait he frequently saw exhibited in frames containing those of the most distinguished German patriots; while various pamphlets, and numerous elegiac stanzas extolled his early virtues and deplored his melancholy fate. It was natural for him to feel the utmost surprize at these circumstances, and that too, in a country whose inhabitants are above all others, least likely to advocate or approve the dreadful crime of assassination.* Concluding, therefore, that this singular state of the public mind, must have originated in some

* Robberies and murders, are less frequent in the German states, than in any part of Europe.

cause arising from the peculiar nature of the times and condition of the people, he determined to extend his inquiries; and although the more minute results of the information he obtained, are reserved for a future occasion, he is yet unwilling to omit the present opportunity of stating a few of the most prominent facts; because they have an immediate connection with that simultaneous desire for reform and improvement, now so unanimously felt throughout the whole European commonwealth.

The high sense of religion, turn for deep thinking and simplicity of manners, by which the second and third classes of society are distinguished in Germany, have been already illustrated by several writers; but by none so ably as Madame de Stael, in her admirable work entitled DE L'ALLEMAGNE: for, to the exact veracity of her assertions, and the solidity of her reasonings, with the exception of some trifling inaccuracies, all those who have any knowledge of the country, including the natives themselves, bear

ample testimony. Whoever reflects on those qualities, and the amazing intellectual advances made by Germany during the last century; when he recollects, at the same time, that an ardent love of freedom was the marked characteristic, and has invariably, however studiously repressed, appeared to be the instinctive passion of the people; cannot wonder that after having witnessed the innumerable abuses eradicated by the late struggle for public liberty in France, the Germans should now pant for a removal of those evils, civil and political, which still continue to impede their own happiness and prosperity.

Owing to the fatal direction taken by the politics of France, when that country was given up to the inexorable sway of sanguinary demagogues and unprincipled factions in the early part of the revolution, and by which the hopes anticipated from the event, were blasted for a time at least; a long series of uninterrupted warfare and reciprocal aggression, suspended the progress

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of liberal principles to the north of the Rhine. But they were revived on the restoration of peace in 1814, and greatly augmented, when, notwithstanding their unheard of sufferings, and endless sacrifices, the people saw, that instead of performing often repeated promises, and establishing a social system, more conducive to the interests of the Germanic confederation, and consonant to the improved spirit of an enlightened age; the congress assembled at Vienna, for the avowed purpose of consolidating the peace and happiness of nations, seemed only to think of aggrandizement and partition, transfer and spoliation!

It seems, however, that a war of twenty-five years, was insufficient to expiate the sins of Europe, or glut the insatiate idol of depotism; consequently, when the violation of the treaty by which Elba was allotted to the Emperor Napoleon, and the non-observance of the charter, led to the return of that sovereign,* the nations were once more

* For an account of the circumstances attending the

called upon to rally round the standard of legitimacy. Without stopping to inquire by what combination of circumstances, that call was obeyed, so fatally for the interests of liberty, it is a well known fact, that when the Austrian and Prussian cabinets succeeded in persuading the people that their political independence was again endangered, the long tried zeal and native enthusiasm of the Germans induced them to come forward with more alacrity than any other nation, forming a part of the disastrous coalition. In fact, the people of Germany did that almost spontaneously, to produce which it became necessary to exert all the influence of ministerial corruption, and court intrigue in a

return of Napoleon, see the LAST REIGN by MR. HOBHOUSE, the only work that has any pretensions to historical accuracy, relative to that extraordinary period, which posterity will doubtless regard as one of the most important epochs in modern history: so that the able and enlightened author has conferred a favour on future times, and acquired no inconsiderable degree of literary celebrity, by this departure from the too general rule, which makes history little more than the vehicle of misrepresentation, prejudice, and party spirit!

neighbouring country; and yet, will the reader believe, that those most distinguished for their patriotism and public virtue, both in 1815, and at every former period of the revolutionary war, are the very men now marked out as the objects of jealousy and persecution! just as if the sovereigns of Germany had modelled their policy on that of the *beloved* Ferdinand of Spain!*

From all that has transpired relative to German affairs during the last four years, it is scarcely necessary to add that ever since the treaty of Paris, concluded in 1815, up to the present moment, there has been one incessant cry for a representative system. The modern wishes, like the ancient manners of this

* The public papers have lately announced that the celebrated Colonel Massenbach has had his imprisonment for life commuted to one of fourteen years! This is doubtless considered as a great act of clemency on the part of his Prussian majesty; but the public should also have been informed that this victim of tyranny and despotic power is nearly seventy years old! And what was this much injured and meritorious officer's crime? That of a constitutional endeavour to improve the condition of his country!

nation require, that "the princes shall act, but the people deliberate." *Ita tamen ut ea quoque quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes per tractentur.** While some of the minor sovereigns have been prevailed upon to gratify the united desires of their subjects,† the cabinet of Berlin has merely held out vague and indefinite promises, whereas that of Vienna is obstinately deaf

* Tacitus de Moribus Germ. cap. xi.

† It would be an injustice to the late ruler of France, were the editor to omit stating, that all the princes who have acceded to the prayers of the people on this vitally important matter, happen to be those whom NAPOLEON either raised to the kingly power, or distinguished by his special favour and protection. It is needless to say that these meritorious princes are the most deservedly popular in Germany; nor has it escaped general notice, that the only two crowned heads in Germany, who merit the rare and envied appellation of the FATHERS OF THEIR PEOPLE, are the kings of Saxony and Bavaria! While, therefore, we admire the wisdom of those measures which are now operating so beneficially on the people in Bavaria, Wirtemburg and Baden, let us not be so illiberal as to deny Napoleon the praise of selecting such men; much less forget, that the only sovereigns who oppose the wishes of their subjects, have consigned the once powerful emperor to prison and proscription!!!

to every appeal on the subject; nay, it is most sedulously occupied in checking the progress of knowledge and liberty at home, while it unceasingly continues to impoverish the devoted provinces of Italy abroad!

On perceiving how little could be expected from the foregoing policy, and warned by the proceedings of two successive congresses, at which all the members of the Holy Alliance assembled, without the adoption of one solitary measure in favour of popular freedom, the German public have latterly expressed themselves more loudly and distinctly than ever; but having no privilege of meeting for the discussion of political subjects, and redress of grievances; whatever steps are resorted to, for the promotion of such objects, must be taken in secret: hence the necessity of those associations which are so great a source of alarm at the present crisis. As these societies were originally established under the auspices of the respective governments, and for the express purpose of securing the external independence of Germany,

it is by no means likely, that the founders were less indifferent to internal freedom than adverse to foreign dominion. Taking it for granted, therefore, that associations which were composed of the most respectable and enlightened part of the nation, are ardently attached to the best interests of their country, and that they are impressed with a settled conviction of some improvement in the political system of Germany, being absolutely indispensible; it is of importance to add, that their views are most warmly seconded by an able and independent press, conducted upon totally different principles to those which shackle and corrupt the editors of newspapers and periodical works in other countries. Besides, instead of being in the hands of venal writers, and notorious political apostates, many of the best papers and magazines of Germany are conducted by its most learned professors; men no less distinguished for their erudition and extensive knowledge, than their private virtue and unequivocal attachment to liberty. When

in addition to this circumstance, it is known that the above co-operation has an almost unlimited influence and direct communication with the second and third classes; who will attempt to maintain that the governments of that truly enlightened country can ever hope to enforce a relinquishment of those just claims, which have been accorded to the people of France, notwithstanding all her disasters?

Were he justified in trespassing on the time of his readers, the Editor could adduce many more reasons drawn from the persevering nature, and dauntless enthusiasm of the whole people, to prove the impossibility of any combination on the part of the German cabinets, either intimidating the advocates of reform, or rejecting their claims. While enumerating a few of those advantages which are most calculated to ensure success to the cause of reform in Germany, the friends of liberty in this country will be glad to hear, that although so despotic in the form and practice of its government, the soldiery is a much

less isolated body than those of some other countries that enjoy an infinitely greater share of freedom in appearance: this arises from the regular army being usually filled up from the landwehr, or national militia; the members of which, though trained to the use of arms from the age of eighteen, remain in the bosom of their families till called on to serve in the line, or on local duties; and unlike the soldiers of some countries, who are estranged by long absence in distant colonies, generally return home at the end of the war, and continue to cultivate the endearing ties of domestic life, till a new contest calls them once more into the field.

Another great source of hope to the promoters of German liberty, may be traced to the fact of there being more unanimity and less party spirit amongst them than elsewhere. There exists between the crown and the people no privileged classes, who under pretext of supporting rational freedom, are, in fact, the first obstacle to rational innovation: fortunately no such obstacles exist in Germany; and if the yoke of despotism

be more galling there, than under a popular form of government, the evil is not only more apparent, but more clearly understood; while the people are sufficiently enlightened to require a new and improved order of things. In this respect, the state of public opinion in Germany, bears a most striking contrast with that of England. In some countries, factions are often known to coalesce against the people, no less for the security of their personal interests, than from a wish to preserve that power which has been obtained by craft, and perpetuated by violence in former days; but happily this event is not to be apprehended in Germany, where the favourite maxim of *divide et impera,* so successfully adopted in neighbouring states, cannot be resorted to with equal facility.

From the foregoing brief notice of the sentiments entertained by the people of Germany, and the causes which led to their also requiring an abrogation of all feudal dominion; is it singular that the students should have imbibed the notions of their fathers and teachers? Their ardour and determination

must arise from causes that can neither be prevented or controuled by government: a wiser system and more conciliatory measures, would, however, have long since tranquillized all parties; but what has been the course pursued by the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin? Such writers as Kotzebue, Stourdza, and Gentz,* are employed, nay paid, to vilify and calumniate not only the students but their professors; because the former happened to have adopted the universal wish of the nation, and the latter, so

* It is greatly to be deplored that this eloquent writer, who gained so large a share of celebrity by his work on the State of Europe, should have also lent himself to the views of despotism and injustice! for he could not avoid this lamentable error, in becoming the secretary of that congress, which has, by its impolitic decrees and tortuous policy, sown the seeds of many new troubles in Europe. But it has been the curse of our age, that men were found to condemn those measures in one ruler, which they not only applauded, but helped to bring about when adopted by another! Had not such men as Gentz, [for there are many like him,] left the people, and gone over to increase that power which was already too great, in what a very different state might not the public liberty of Europe have been at this day!

unlike the generality of their brethren in other places, are, almost without a single exception, the strenuous supporters of rational liberty and unalienable rights of mankind! When the natural tendency to enthusiasm in the German youths, heightened as it is by the abstruseness of those philosophical dogmas recently promulgated, and their intense application to study, is duly considered,* it is by no means so very extraordi-

* Four o'clock in the morning is the usual hour of a German student's commencing his studies; these are continued until the hour of dinner, and renewed till dark; the rest of the evening being devoted to amusement, such as light reading and visiting friends.

The author of a Tour, called "An Autumn on the Rhine," has given a very long and most unfavourable account of the German university system, merely describing that of Heidelberg, as a specimen of all the rest. This volume had reached Frankfort during the Editor's stay there; and all those with whom he conversed on the subject, concurred in representing the above account as grossly exaggerated. They admitted, however, that the author's "*Scandalous Chronicle*," relative to several instances of profligacy in high life, was correct to a limited extent; adding, that it was not in the aristocracy of Germany, any more than in other European countries, travellers were to form an estimate of national character and virtue.

nary, that out of ten or fifteen thousand such young men, a few should be so irritated by the malignant provocations of hireling writers, as to forget the obligations due to civil society and the laws; but, while we pity and condemn the fanaticism which prompts men to regard assassination as a virtue, what shall be said of those, who, being intimately acquainted with the combustible materials they are called upon to handle, instead of endeavouring to neutralize them, make every effort to produce an explosion?

Amongst the unworthy subterfuges devised for the purpose of justifying arbitrary measures, the ministerial press of Germany has also taken great pains to prove that Sand had accomplices. However this may answer the views of despotism, and impose on public credulity for a time, none but the most ignorant as well as profligate of mankind, would dream of propagating the monstrous supposition, of there being any political association, so abominably wicked, as to justify, much less encourage,

murder and assassination in the nineteenth century! While, however, he deprecates an opinion so utterly disgraceful to the age, the writer of these remarks cannot help thinking it mainly incumbent on the governments of Germany, maturely to reflect on the recent catastrophe; for every circumstance connected with the history and proceedings of Sand, is pre-eminently calculated to excite public astonishment: his education, amiable disposition, and unexceptionable character, all tend to make us pause and inquire into the cause of his having recourse to this act of vengeance: while they stimulate us to trace those gradations of thought by which the youthful enthusiast prevailed on himself to strike the final blow.

> Between the acting of a dreadful thing,
> And the first motion, all the interim is
> Like a phantasma, or a hideous dream:
> The genius and the mortal instruments
> Are then in council; and the state of man,
> Like to a little kingdom suffers then
> The nature of an insurrection!

Although the whole subject is involved in a maze of inexplicable difficulty, it is not the less worthy of minute and careful examination; for if, as a very shrewd German lately observed to the Editor, there are many thousand individuals amongst the youth of Germany, as totally indifferent to life as SAND and Lohning; who can say where the contagion of their example will end, or what will be the consequences to persons of a very different class to Kotzebue and Ibel?* There are many events of daily

* The following account of the attack on this gentleman is taken from the TIMES newspaper, and tends so much to corroborate the Editor's arguments, that he hopes to be excused for giving it somewhat in detail.

"Schwalbach (a mineral bath in the Duchy of Nassau, and two leagues from Mentz) has just been the theatre of a horrible event, which may be regarded as connected with that recently perpetrated by Sand, and which proves the fanaticism that reigns amongst the youths of Germany. A young man, son of an apothecary at Idstein, in Nassau, where there is a collegiate establishment, persuaded himself that he could render an essential service to his country, by ridding it of M. Ibel, president of the regency of Wisbad, who enjoyed the confidence of the Duke, and, in consequence, he resolved to assassinate him. He found M. Ibel at Schwalbach, and aimed a blow at his face with

occurrence, and those not unimportant either, calculated to guide our judgment with regard to public opinion, which pass away without exciting any thing more than temporary surprize. However, this revival of a practice that was thought not only meritorious, but in some cases even honoured with

a poignard. M. Ibel, who is tall and corpulent, and was not alarmed, seized the assassin, and disarmed him.—Whilst they were struggling, the murderer drew a pistol from his pocket, and attempted to discharge it, according to some, at M. Ibel, but others say at himself: the pistol, however, missed fire, the assassin was taken into custody, and probably justice will be speedily executed From subsequent information we learn that the assassin's name is Lohning: he studied at the university of Heidelburg, and only left it eighteen months ago. He served as a volunteer during the last war of invasion."—*Frankfort, July 4th*, 1819.

Another account, dated on the following day, states: "The President of the Regency of Nassau has the reputation of being an able statesman; but arbitrary fiscal measures are imputed to him. It is affirmed that previous to his aiming the blow at M. Ibel, the young apothecary reproached him with being the cause of his country's misfortunes: fortunately the attempt only produced a slight wound. On his first examination, he confessed the fact, alleging for his motive a wish to rid his country of a man so injurious to the public weal."

Having been transferred to prison, it does not appear that the interrogatories which followed have led to any

an apotheosis, in the best days of Greece and Rome, though justly execrated in modern times, is a tremendous epoch in the annals of civilization, and opens a field of inquiry deeply interesting to the whole human race.

Lightly as some people, particularly those with whom the "solemn plausibilities of the world" are exploded, may be induced to

disclosures. And that he has preserved the same mistaken greatness of mind, as his predecessor, will be seen by the following account of his death, very recently received from Nemburg, and dated July 23d.

"All the precautions that were taken, could not prevent Lohning from executing his design of putting an end to his life in prison. At first he seemed resolved to starve himself to death, but in this he did not succeed. On the nineteenth of July he found means to break a glass unperceived, and to open an artery in the wrist with a piece of it: while the blood was flowing from the wound he held his hand concealed under the bed quilt, so that the circumstance seems not to have been remarked, till the blood had flowed in such abundance as to find its way to the floor. Uncertain whether the opening of the artery, considering the care with which he was watched, could remain concealed long enough to make his death certain, Lohning had contrived to swallow several pieces of glass, when the guard on seeing the blood flow from the delinquent's bed, gave the alarm, and called for help; Lohning lay already in violent convulsions, and every assistance was afforded, but in vain, as he expired before day-light."

treat the subject,* the Editor is too deeply impressed with a sense of its importance, to let the occasion escape without venturing a few more observations, which are left for more acute reasoners either to dispute or illustrate.

It has been already hinted, that the most civilized and moral nations of antiquity regarded assassination as an act of heroic virtue, provided it was inflicted on the enemies of public liberty. Need it be added, that every modern nation has emerged from barbarity, in proportion as it has attained to the imitation of those glorious models; and that in every enlightened country, the study of the ancient writers is the basis of liberal education, and the surest characteristic of a gentleman?

If, according to the well known definition, history be no other than philosophy teach-

* Soon after the death of Kotzebue, some wag took the trouble of writing a threatening letter to the editor of an English Journal, well known for its insensate violence against the people; when lo, and behold, a leading article appeared next day, in which this brave mercenary boldly defied all the daggers of his enemies. Perhaps a cudgel would not be misapplied!

ing by example; the wisdom inspired by the examples of ancient history, must be allowed to require some discretion in its application to actual conduct. A Timoleon, a Scævola, a Brutus, if they teach any thing, teach that an invasion of public liberty, is a private wrong, which every individual is called upon by the noblest principles of his nature to redress by his own right hand: and lest the example of the patriot should be thought too weak, for the encouragement of such virtue, the precept of the sage and of the lawgiver, add fresh incitement to the aspiring student. Ovid is not a more instructive master in the art of love, than Cicero in the duties of patriotism; but, the change in manners and government has not affected the credit of the voluptuary: although a quotation from "*the best man of all antiquity*," as Dr. Middleton called him, is sufficient to stamp a writer an assassin. A statesman and a scholar could at least find no better name for the anonymous monitor who lately reminded him that the second father of Rome declared the destruction of a

tyrant the most truly beautiful, the most beneficial, the most glorious of all human actions!* That such lessons may find willing pupils; that examples such as those with which history abounds, may excite imitations amongst the readers of any country, and more particularly the youthful readers, is far from wonderful: indeed it is rather to be wondered at, that the practical good sense of modern times has inculcated the paradox, that such writings are to be studied without any view to individual application, and that such examples are at the same time to be admired and rejected!

The students of Germany are bred up amidst systems of philosophy, not a little sublimated and abstruse; and they inherit from their ancestors, a species of enthusiasm not exactly expressed by any other language than their own. That the study of classical writers should have had a primary effect in giving a direction to the new sentiment on public liberty, generated amongst our nor-

* Quam sit re pulchrum, beneficio gratum, famâ gloriosum, tyrannum occidere.

thern neighbours, there cannot be a doubt; and that SAND was impelled to the dreadful deed, by a fatal emulation of ancient virtue, may increase our pity for the man, though it will not diminish our horror for the crime.

The rarity of such instances of delusion, can be attributed only to the christian religion, and to the improvement in the condition of mankind, which has made even despotism itself amenable to public opinion, and thus disarmed individual vengeance.

When, however, by some unhappy perversion of intellect, the love of freedom, and the attachment to the soil, which the ancients teach us to be the first of all human characteristics, seems to point to the interposition of a single arm; when religion seems to identify such interposition, with the vengeance which God tells us is his own; when all public redress seems unattainable, then, indeed, the ordinary barriers of passion are removed, and the self-fancied christian hero devotes himself to crime with a resolution such as never animated the breast of a Roman patriot; when motives of

supposed piety alone, have been often formerly sufficient to arm even the professors of piety themselves against the lives of exalted individuals, the union of patriotism, as a passion, and of learning, as a principle, must add tenfold heat to the fever of the brain.

It is clear that SAND imagined that redress was to be obtained no otherwise than by the mode adopted by himself. With this persuasion, it was unnecessary to refer to the practice of ancient times, for an excuse which modern manners will not tolerate. For if the cannon is the last argument of tyrants, the dagger is the first resource of slaves! A reform, whether in Turkey, Russia, or Sweden, has ever in our days begun by the murder of the sovereign. Where a sense of injustice finds no intermediate vent in public discussion, either by voice or pen, it flies at once to the last remedy: and such are the signs of the times, and such is the conduct of some governments, that the editor must boldly proclaim his apprehension, that the action which was the universal praise of antiquity, and has been the triumphant practice

in some modern emergencies, will not be confined to LOHNING and SAND. Charlotte Corday was almost deified: even Ankerstroom was called the BRUTUS of his country; and the destroyers of Paul became the ministers of his successor! How fortunate was it that the last-named student sought no higher victim! The same perverse application of the examples of antiquity and texts of scripture, to a difficulty, for the solution of which he had even some modern authorities, might have directed the dagger of Sand to the heart rather than to the hand; to the master rather than to the minister!

It is indeed not surprising that the student should have pictured to himself no monster more hideous than the deliberate apologist for slavery; the perverter of that literature which was meant for the consolation of mankind, into the curse of humanity; the traitor who, forgetful of his own fame, of the honour and happiness of his own kindred and country, had become the venal pander to foreign ambition! The insignificance of the individual obstacle, was not remarked by

him: it was placed close to his eye, and however small, obstructed the sight of all distant objects, whatever their size and importance.

But the writer of these remarks thinks it his bounden duty to assert publicly, that he anticipates from the present state of popular feeling in Germany still more awful catastrophes, than the fall of a miserable, pensioned penman. Could his feeble voice be heard, he would exhort the masters of mankind, no longer to engage or persevere in the hopeless task of *degenerating* that portion of the human race committed to their guidance and care. "The spirit has stirred upon the waters." Let them rather be the creators of light than the renewers of darkness. Instead of employing a parricide to poison the fountains of truth, let the monarch of one quarter of our hemisphere, multiply the channels, and disperse the salubrious stream, through his mighty empire: his soil will become more rich, and his subjects more vigorous, more worthy the dominion of an enlightened sovereign. Let him recollect, that the man

who is faithless to his country will hardly be true to him; and above all let him not forget that the fatal enthusiasm, which has made a murderer of a virtuous man, is of that kind, which penetrates the palace of the prince, with the same ease as the cottage of the peasant, and which JUSTICE AND GENEROSITY ALONE CAN DISARM!!!

To suppose that any change in the discipline or regulations of the universities would have the smallest effect in checking that irresistible spirit of freedom, in which the two late horrible deeds really originated, is amongst those fallacies which people like to adopt, when they are either too indolent or timid to examine the true source of human events. It is, in fact, demonstrably evident, that new and extraordinary principles (not the offspring of poverty and vice, as some would insinuate, but arising from a prodigious advancement in civilization,) are generated all over Europe: the natural and obvious result is one universal cry for amelioration and reform, from the rock of Gibraltar

to Bergen; from Venice to the Hebrides! How melancholy to reflect that as yet this cry has been almost uniformly resisted by those authorities, the permanence of whose power must ultimately depend on their acquiescence in popular feeling!

Happy! thrice happy are those rulers, who, rising above the selfish prejudices of party, and breaking through the trammels of faction, shall avert the threatened storm, ere it overwhelms the oppressor and the oppressed in one common ruin! It has been justly observed, that we live in perilous times; and it is equally true, that unexampled proofs of virtue and patriotism can alone restore the European equilibrium. There are some diseases in which palliatives prolong the patient's life, merely to render his dissolution more certain and painful.

A great deal has been lately said relative to the prevailing taste for republicanism in Germany. It cannot certainly be denied that a very strong feeling in favour of that form of government which gives full scope

to the energies of a nation, and opens a career to individual merit, does really exist; but who will attempt to say that this feeling is confined to Germany? While fully sensible of the inconvenience that sometimes arises from the toleration of privileged orders, the people are not unmindful that a republic (like that of North America for instance) can be as rapacious, regardless of the rights of nations, and unprincipled, as the most despotic monarchy that ever existed; and if they wish to amalgamate the two forms somewhat more generally, the Germans are not such novices in the science of government, as to be ignorant, that were all the power of the state confided to an aristocracy of talent, it would not be less overbearing than the most galling oppression exercised by one of wealth and corruption. Judging from what the writer has seen, whatever changes the population of Germany feel anxious to effect, there is a general desire to avoid the evils of democracy, on the one hand, and the equally pernicious tendency of monarchical despotism on the other.

Although the peasantry and manufacturers of Germany feel their condition might be rendered infinitely better, if that constant opposition of interests, and harrassing obstruction to commerce, created by the present divided state of the country, and grasping avidity of some of the governments were removed; they are neither totally in want of employment, or reduced to the last extremity of distress: if they were, the probable consequences are too dreadful to contemplate! Whenever the circumstances of the times give rise to such a state in any class of the community, there is no sacrifice which a wise and provident government ought not to make towards remedying the evil; for if it is of that description, which leaves no rational hope of being, as it were, spontaneously removed by more prosperous times, the disease must spread, and may finally endanger the whole body politic. And here it may not be irrelevant to repeat the maxim so frequently laid down by Mr. Burke, that the multitude, in all countries, are patient to a certain point; that ill-usage may rouse

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their indignation, and hurry them into excesses; but that the original fault is in the government.

Instead, therefore, of keeping large standing armies on foot, devising new modes of punishment, and adopting measures of unconstitutional coercion, every real friend of humanity and good order must wish to see the Austrian and Prussian cabinets come forward, and having ascertained the wishes of that class, from which all political power emanates, cordially co-operate in the best means of re-establishing those FIRST PRINCIPLES, to a departure from which, may be traced all the evils under which the nations of Europe continue to groan.

According to the public papers, it appears, that another meeting of German diplomatists and ministers, is about to take place at Carlsbad: if true, this proves that the cabinets are not totally indifferent to their danger; but they have a most difficult and delicate task to perform. This new assemblage ought to keep in mind, that the eyes of all Europe will be upon it, as they were directed towards

the last congress at Aix la Chapelle; and that if it separates like the above, without some specific measure in favour of reform, the final crisis will only be thereby hastened. Experience is, however, against our indulging in any very sanguine hopes upon the subject; for unfortunately such meetings have invariably tended rather to abridge than enlarge the stock of European liberty.

With respect to the German press, while the degraded part of it is occupied in goading the already perturbed minds of the discontented on to despair, and brawling about the wisdom of ministers, the rights of legitimacy, together with a great deal of still more unintelligible jargon; as well as using arguments, which are above all others calculated to make the popular discontent ripen into revolution; it becomes the sacred duty of those who advocate the rights of the people, to persevere in expostulating with the respective governments, in order that the latter may prevent anarchy by acts of necessary justice, rather than precipitate it, by measures of coercion, that will, most assur-

edly, aggravate without curing the disease. It is in such times as these that the real friends of the country are known: so that when those who have, on former occasions, advocated the principles of freedom, join in the abortive effort to stifle the irresistible voice of complaint, and stigmatize the cries of the people to be heard, we may safely exclaim in the language of our immortal bard:

Let no such men be trusted!

If there ever was a period, when the maxim of "measures, and not men," was essential to the repose and happiness of Europe, who can deny, that it has now arrived in Germany? And if we may be allowed to compare "great things with small," is there no analogy between the present times, and those which preceded the French revolution? It is true, indeed, that neither Germany or any other country may labour under those intolerable abuses which rendered that political tragedy in a manner a physical consequence; but is it not worth our while to inquire, whether the *Tiers etat* of Germany do not feel the many remains of feudal aristocracy existing in

that country, as keenly, as the same class did in France? By a parity of reasoning, may not the words of an acute observer of those causes which led to the catastrophe, be repeated with more than ordinary propriety, while contemplating the present state of some countries? In summing up his excellent account of those abuses which produced the revolution, Mr. Arthur Young very justly remarks: "The people will always suffer much and long, before they are effectually roused: nothing, therefore, can kindle the flame, but such oppressions of some classes or order in the society, as give able men the opportunity, of seconding the general mass. Discontent is contagious, and will soon diffuse itself around; AND IF THE GOVERNMENT TAKE NOT WARNING IN TIME, IT IS ALONE ANSWERABLE FOR ALL THE BURNINGS, PLUNDERINGS, DEVASTATION AND BLOODSHED THAT FOLLOW!"

London, August 10, 1819.

MEMOIR,

&c.

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Although the numerous victims, whom the wild and vindictive passions of mankind immolate on the altars of envy or revenge, jealousy or fanaticism, are seldom regarded amidst the tumult and anxieties of this busy scene, with more than a momentary surprise, and transient regret; it not unfrequently becomes the province of history, to pause and meditate on some startling and ominous exception to the general rule. Such was the tragical end of Augustus Von Kotzebue, an event, not only of awful import to Germany, but well calculated to strike, with the impressiveness of a monitory lesson, upon the public mind of all Europe.

Kotzebue was a scholar of no mean pretensions; a writer at once voluminous and popular, he was consequently not without a certain degree of influence over the opinions of his fellow country-

men and contemporaries: of late years, however, his name had acquired an adventitious and more questionable title to celebrity. Either from an ill-fated conviction, or a self-interested subserviency, he zealously espoused, and took a very active part in supporting political principles, adverse to that spirit of independence which burst forth in Germany, after its deliverance from foreign aggression in 1814. Hence it was, that the prostitution of his pen to the views of kings and ministers, while it secured to him the fruits of patronage and wealth, raised up against him a host of incensed and determined enemies, and in the end sealed his melancholy fate.

Shortly to develope and trace the causes which have generated in the hearts of the German youth, such an implacable hatred to the advocate and apologist of despotic power, as to have driven a young man of otherwise gentle habits and kindly affections, with a phrenetic impulse into the commission of an act that cannot under any circumstances cease to be a crime, and against which the offender's generous soul must at first have revolted with unspeakable abhorrence, will be the object of the following pages; for though public curiosity may have been gratified in part, by the various and sometimes contradictory accounts that appeared shortly after the circumstance occurred, it is no less due to the present times than to pos-

terity, that a faithful narrative of such extraordinary events, should be put upon record, in a shape less perishable than that which the columns of a newspaper are able to embrace.

The young student of theology, Charles Louis Sand, who enacted the Brutus of this terrific drama, was born of highly respectable parents at Weinseidel in the margraviate of Baireuth. Such was the modesty of his demeanour, and mildness of his disposition, from his earliest years, that the friends of the family, and the teachers under whom he was placed, almost equalled his parents in the warmth of their affection for him. His person was engaging, his manners agreeable, and the uniform propriety of his conduct in the highest degree examplary. His remarkable docility, and the eager thirst for knowledge with which he was inspired, produced in him a frame of mind, most happily adapted to the study of divinity, and while at the schools, his correct deportment, and assiduous application more than justified the sanguine expectations of his family and friends; so that there was not only a fair promise of his becoming a faithful minister of the gospel, but a distinguished ornament of his national church.

Arrived at an age for reflection, Sand viewed with mingled feelings of sorrow and indignation the wretched condition of his country, at once

the theatre of foreign invasion and domestic tyranny; while his mind dwelt with unceasing solicitude upon the means of achieving the redemption, and securing the liberties of Germany, objects above all others dear to the hearts of her native youth. No wonder then, that in 1815, we find him following the standard of Austria, in common with many thousands of young patriots, who, roused by the interested reports every where circulated, that the repose and liberty of Europe were threatened by the return of Napoleon from Elba, hastened to obey the artful appeal which the cabinet of Vienna made to their public spirit and patriotism. When, however, the struggle between France, fighting in defence of an imprescriptible right, to live under the sovereign of her own choice, and the allied monarchs, terminated in the field of Waterloo, Sand returned to his quiet and affectionate home, carrying with him unqualified testimonials of approbation from his superiors, and the warm regard of his companions in arms. But it was not long, ere the subject of our memoir had ample cause to repent that he drew his sword in the cause of those, whom no pledge, however sacred, could bind, no service, however zealous, could propitiate in favour of the just claims of the loyal and suffering people who had so often fought and bled for the safety of their thrones!

Ye men, who pour your blood for kings as water;
What have they given your children in return?
A heritage of servitude and woes,
A blindfold bondage, where your hire is blows!*

He remained but a short time with his family, and then hastened to resume the course of his studies, which were prosecuted with unabated ardour at the universities of Erlangen, Tubengen, and Jena. Every account communicated respecting Sand, while passing through these excellent seminaries of learning, tends to establish a high opinion of his talents and diligence as a scholar, and of his unimpeachable morality as a man.—It was at the second named place that those who were more particularly intimate with the young enthusiast, first observed his character to have assumed a sombre and deeply meditative cast.—According to their accounts, he seemed to be constantly holding a painful and anxious communion with his own thoughts. This melancholy disposition took at Jena, a still darker hue, arising most probably from the peculiar signs of the times; and it was noticed that the agitation of his

* See Lord Byron's ode to fallen Venice, one of the most spirited and beautiful efforts of that extraordinary poet's prolific muse. But I differ from his lordship's opinion that "*there is no hope for nations*," though who can hesitate to subscribe to his splendid illustration of the Roman maxim, MALIM INQUIETAM LIBERTATEM QUAM QUIETUM SERVITIUM!—ED.

mind, always increased, whenever he met with any of those anti-national doctrines so vehemently advocated by Kotzebue in his weekly journal then publishing at Weimar.

The above multifarious writer after experiencing those vicissitudes of fortune and situation, which a character of such habitual levity and extreme presumption could hardly hope to have escaped, upon attaining, in a certain degree, the means of independence, resigned his appointment of consul general in Russia, and removed from St. Petersburgh to Weimar, where he made his appearance without any official or ostensible employment. He lost no time, however, in declaring war against the discipline of the universities, and conduct of the professors in most of them; men, who in these days of political apostacy and courtly servility, have never ceased to advance the cause of true learning, or forgotten those principles of eternal justice and freedom, upon which the stability of governments and happiness of civilized society so mainly depend. Having announced the intention of retiring to his native place simply as a votary of the muses, his reception was such as a private individual and well known literary character might have naturally expected; but what was the surprise of the public on his displaying an imperial Russian patent, constituting him the accredited diplomatic agent of

that court. By subsequent information it was, indeed, discovered that he received a yearly stipend of fifteen thousand roubles for transmitting extracts from the newspapers and other publications connected with passing events in Germany, and particularly of those writers whose views did not coincide with those of the Russian cabinet.—He was also entrusted with the duty of making reports directly to the Emperor Alexander on the state of literature and public opinion generally.

The more effectually to fulfil the objects of his mission, and perhaps anxious to leave nothing untried that was calculated to meet the wishes of the Emperor, M. Kotzebue established a weekly literary journal, in which he not only became the judge and censor of all the works he thought worthy of notice, but expressed his opinions on politics, public men, and the predominant spirit of the age, in a manner, that the public in general considered as extremely partial and illiberal.—Amongst other charges, the imperial counsellor was openly accused of carrying on a marked hostility to freedom of discussion by the press, liberal ideas in politics, and especially to the wishes of the people, so often and unequivocally expressed for the adoption of a representative system.

Although his doctrines might have met the approbation of a few, for there are panders to power, and traitors to their fellow citizens in every coun-

try, this conduct of M. Von Kotzebue did not fail to draw down the indignation of a much greater number, more particularly the German youth, who have so long sighed for the political emancipation of their country. It is doubtless in the above very pernicious application of his literary powers, that we are to look for the cause of that catastrophe which terminated his existence. M. Kotzebue's conduct excited the more surprise, from the well known fact of his having formerly often stood forth as the enemy of oppression. Not satisfied with opposing the political enfranchisement of Germany, he took the utmost pains to represent the enlightened friends of liberty and the greatest ornaments of the universities, as revolutionary demagogues. Full of that overweening confidence, which is but too often the attendant on popularity among authors as well as statesmen, he came forward armed with sword and buckler, vainly imagining that his former fame and present protection, insured a certain victory over his opponents. Elated with this flattering prospect, it also occurred to M. Kotzebue, that the contest would not only afford him an opportunity of getting into favour with other sovereigns, but that still greater honours and additional rewards might follow.

The first glaring exposure of his system, was occasioned either by the awkwardness or treachery of a transcriber, who consigned a written paper,

intended as one of the reports to his imperial master, and in the hand-writing of Kotzebue, to an opponent of the latter, in which the Court Counsellor Luden, of Jena, and his journal, the Nemesis, were represented as "two of the most detestable instruments of hell!" Upon the appearance of a literal copy of this *tirade*, in Luden's paper, the dramatist boldly acknowledged it for his own; but he at the same time availed himself of his Russian patent, for the purpose of laying an injunction on the further publication of the Nemesis, and followed up this measure by charging the editor with theft, and a breach of the laws of diplomacy, for publishing a communication in his hand-writing, addressed to the Emperor of Russia. The interdiction was, however, totally ineffectual, as this disgraceful bulletin was already copied into Wieland's PATRIOT, and also into the Iris, another literary paper, from a proof sheet of the Nemesis, by which it soon found a place in many others, and was thus in a few days disseminated throughout Germany.

When a legal inquiry was instituted shortly after, the faculty of Weizberg amended the verdict of the Leipsic court of judicature, against the obnoxious parties, Luden, Wieland, and Oken, as to the verdict of public opinion, that had already been unequivocally pronounced against M. Kotzebue. No wonder, therefore, if these trans-

gressions recalled the memory of his former errors, particularly the scandalous libel of "*Doctor Bahrt with the iron forehead,*" which he published in 1790. This outrage on public decorum was greatly aggravated by the author's affixing the estimable name of Knigge to it, with a view of screening himself from that indignation which he knew must overtake the original compiler, if discovered. This unwarrantable precaution did not, however, answer the desired purpose, and when the work was on the point of being brought home to the real author, the second subterfuge of Kotzebue was still less to be applauded than the first, for he prevailed on a friend, the chancery counsellor Kerkenberg of Hanover, an otherwise respectable character, to acknowledge it. This gave rise to a persecution and suffering on the part of the victim, which ended in the loss of his reason, and the total ruin of his family, hitherto independent and prosperous!

His recent conduct having engendered a host of enemies on every side, he was attacked by nearly all the newspapers of Germany, and became an object at which the finger of scorn was pointed from a thousand different directions, until he at length determined to change his position; for this purpose, it was given out that M. Kotzebue intended to try the waters of Pyrmont: accordingly, in the summer of 1818 he left Weimar,

accompanied by his family, and passing through Frankfort on the Main, finally determined on settling at Manheim, where his literary and diplomatic labours were renewed with increased activity. The most violent philippics were repeated against his opponents, the abuse of the freedom of the press, assemblies of the states, gymnastic exercises, &c.; but that which principally tended to work up and irritate the German students was, the concluding sentence to his strictures on the tumult at Gottingen.* It was as follows: "Truly

* Previous to the disturbance, which led to the studies being suspended, and the students being dispersed, for a time at least, there were forty professors and twelve hundred students from all parts of Germany assembled there. The mode of instruction, consisted of lectures from the professors, and private tuition. The system of study being divided into four departments, those of divinity, jurisprudence, medicine, and philosophy; each of these branched off into the minor branches dependent on them, and had their respective lecturers. As the cause of those dissentions, which made so great a noise at the time, may be forgotten by the reader, while it proves what a prevalent disposition there is to exaggerate trifles into matters of importance, the following extract of a letter which appeared in the Morning Chronicle, soon after the fracas took place, will serve to refresh his memory on the subject.

"Gottingen, July 28, 1818.

"The troubles in Gottingen derive their origin in part from an old grudge of the citizens against the students, in consequence of which, the latter played all sorts of tricks to tease the former; such as upsetting during the night, all the butchers blocks in the shambles, &c. On the 11th instant, a student passing by the shambles, accidentally threw down a child, on which a journeyman

every father who casts an anxious look on his son, would thank that government which set the example of banishing from its universities the *unbridled and capricious will of the students:* for in this so called academical liberty, more good heads and hearts are ruined than formed," &c.

While at Jena, Sand was not only a witness to, but a participator in the literary feud to which the

butcher ran out and struck him; not being able to obtain redress, he and his comrades proceeded to the house of Krische, master of the offender, and stormed it, breaking the windows, shutters, &c. On the 20th, the deputy of the government, Counsellor Falke, came from Hanover, followed by a hundred and fifty huzzars to restore order; they occupied the streets, and bore the insults of the students, who were greatly incensed at this military measure, with the utmost patience. But the students having proceeded to acts of violence, the huzzars attacked them with drawn sabres, and wounded five. This increased instead of diminishing the tumult, and all possible measures were taken to prevent a junction of the apprentices and students, which would have made matters still worse. The next day, a detachment of Landwehr came and paraded the town in rank and file. Upon this the students retired, and resolved to go to the Hessian town of Wilzenhausen, some miles from Gottingen."

The above details are particularly well worth the reader's attention. For there is nothing more likely than that this injudicious and impolitic employment of the military, where the occasion only required the interference of the civil authorities, tended greatly to inflame the minds of the German students, already dissatisfied with the political situation of their country. It is thus that mere trifles lead to the most important consequences. But Englishmen will not fail to regret that *Hanover* should be the first part of Germany in which this unconstitutional application of the military should have commenced.—Ed.

violent comments of Kotzebue, gave rise. Having with many other students then present fought for the best interests of Germany, he dreaded nothing so much, as the probability of that writer's principles and doctrines tending to mislead both the Princes of Europe and the public; by which the dearly earned triumphs gained during the preceding contests would be bartered for perpetual bondage. As the unshaken and ardent friend of truth, it was therefore natural for Sand to look with indignation on that part of the imperial counsellor's writings, which reviled and calumniated those teachers and professors, whom he knew to be irreproachable both in morals and character; nor, when the subject happened to be discussed by his companions, did he hesitate to express the abhorrence in which he held "the foreign stipendiary and political apostate," as Kotzebue was now designated. This extraordinary young man was thus led on from one reflection to another, until his enthusiastic imagination led him to suppose, that the sacrifice of a mercenary journalist would contribute to the liberation of the whole German people from oppression. To such a pitch of impetuous energy was he carried on some occasions, that Sand would often conclude a long comment on the dangerous consequences of tolerating any writer, who had thus set the liberties of his country at nought, by observing, it became an imperative

duty, and even a virtue to punish them; adding with an air of the greatest apparent composure, that having after long reflection overcome the dreadful contest between his love of country, and sense of religion, he was himself prepared to strike the blow, often exclaiming in a tone of hysterical exultation—

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori!

From the characteristic mildness of his nature, these proofs of a perturbed spirit were considered as the offspring of momentary anger; for little did his hearers imagine their amiable and enlightened companion had already determined to put the bloody purpose into almost immediate execution!

Having concluded his course of study, he left Jena early on the 9th of March of the present year, it is supposed on foot, and very scantily supplied with money, without taking leave of any one, or communicating his intentions. He merely assumed the old German costume, and reached Manheim on the morning of the 23d, having remained one day at the Swan Inn, Frankfort, and passed several more with a friend in the same city*.

* Another account (for as generally happens on such occasions there were many) states that Sand left Jena on the morning of the 9th, that from thence he proceeded to Erlangen, where he procured a passport for the borders of the Main; setting off from this place on the 18th, it is added that he arrived post on the evening of the 22d at Larch, five leagues from Manheim, on the right bank of the Rhine. At Larch, he hired a peasant's cart, and arrived at

Taking up his abode at a hotel called the Vineyard, in Manheim, he announced himself as a student from Erlangen, adding that his name was Henricks. Soon after his arrival Sand inquired where M. Von Kotzebue lived, and also asked for a preacher named Karbach, who, he said, knew his family. Unalterable in the resolution he had formed, and doubtless satisfied that he was about to perform a meritorious and holy act of duty, Sand presented himself at Kotzebue's door twice on the morning of his arrival, stating that he had letters to deliver from Weimar, where the mother of Kotzebue still lives, though at the advanced age of eighty-two. As the Counsellor was in the habit of devoting his mornings to literary pursuits, and going out at twelve o'clock, the stranger could not gain admission. Being told to return in the evening, the usual time of receiving visitors, Sand withdrew to the inn, and dined very heartily at the public table: here he met with a village curate, with whom he passed above two

Manheim on the 23d, about ten in the morning. One of the numerous correspondents stated, that on descending into the street he exclaimed, *Vivat Teutonia! opus consummatus est! &c.* It was also added that a short time previous to the event, Kotzebue had determined to retire to Russia again.—The editor has, however, good reason to rely on the account in the text, and it is the one generally received in Germany.—As to the paper purporting to be a sentence of death, it is a manifest fabrication, and that of the most clumsy description.

hours in the most cheerful and animated conversation. Taking leave of his companion a little before five o'clock, he proceeded towards the scene of action, and although he joined several ladies, who were also going to visit Madame Kotzebue, it did not disconcert him in the least, or tend in any manner to alter his design. Having rung the bell, the door was immediately opened, upon which, Sand bowing, suffered the ladies to enter before him, and they were accordingly shewn into the drawing-room. Remaining in the hall till his name was announced, the servant soon returned, and led the stranger into an adjoining apartment, where, he said, the Counsellor would come in a few moments. When the company arrived, M. Kotzebue was seated with his family, and after the usual compliments had been exchanged, it is confidently reported, that while holding his youngest son, then scarcely two months old, up in his arms, he observed in a tone of great emotion, and turning to the ladies, " I was exactly the age of this child when my father died !"

It is supposed that Sand employed the short interval of being left alone, in preparing to strike the meditated blow, for scarcely had the unsuspecting victim entered the apartment, when the infuriated antagonist, with irresistible dexterity, plunged a long poignard into his body : the blow

was directed with such force, that the weapon penetrated the fourth rib on the left side, inflicting a mortal wound on the heart. The unfortunate sufferer most probably attempted to disarm his assailant, and after a momentary struggle, in which the agonies of death must have given additional strength to the dying man, both fell to the ground: here Sand was soon enabled to recover the use of his arms, and to prevent the possibility of failure in his sanguinary purpose, three more wounds were inflicted by the minister of vengeance; one of these, perforating the breast, entered the lungs.

Upon hearing the fall, followed by the groans of M. Kotzebue, a servant hurried to the fatal spot, and found his master extended on the floor, weltering in his blood; while the wretched perpetrator knelt by with the dagger in his hand, coolly contemplating the prostrate victim! The cries of the servant having at length alarmed the ladies, they rushed into the room, and with frantic screams beheld the horrid spectacle! The Counsellor had by this time lost much blood, and was breathing his last; Sand continuing to grasp the reeking weapon, and unmoved by what was passing around, steadfastly gazed on the bleeding corse. Some of the affrighted party now called from the windows for help and a surgeon, while Emily, the eldest daughter of M. Kotzebue, aided

by his valet de chambre, succeeded in removing the dead body of her father into another apartment.

Whilst the family and visitors manifested such consternation and woe, the perpetrator seemed alone calm and collected, quietly to await his doom; but ere the wished for succour arrived, he rose and descended the stair-case, exclaiming in a loud voice, "THE TRAITOR HAS FALLEN!" On his reaching the outer door, the street was already thronged with a large concourse of people; rushing violently through the crowd, he threw a hasty and indignant glance back at the windows where several voices still cried murder! Then raising the poignard in one hand, while a written paper was observed in the other, he vociferated, "I AM THE MURDERER! BUT IT IS THUS THAT ALL TRAITORS SHOULD DIE!" Even at this awful moment, so impressive were his gestures and language, that no one present attempted either to seize or disarm him. Immediately after this terrific exclamation, the enthusiast knelt down with an air of great calmness and solemnity, first looking towards the house in which the bloody deed had just been perpetrated, he clasped his hands, and raising his eyes to heaven said, "I THANK THEE, O GOD! FOR HAVING PERMITTED ME, SUCCESSFULLY, TO FULFIL THIS ACT OF JUSTICE!" From such expressions as these, and the following sentence inscribed on the

paper which he held up, " Death-blow for Augustus Von Kotzebue, in the name of virtue!" the suspicion of his derangement was fully confirmed; a circumstance that did not fail to excite public astonishment, at his being so quietly suffered to retain the dagger, for no sooner had the last invocation terminated, than tearing open the clothes that covered his breast, he repeatedly plunged the weapon into his own bosom, causing several deep wounds: he immediately fell to the ground and remained until the magistracy, who were by this time apprized of the trágical event, gave directions for his removal to the public hospital, where his wounds were carefully bound up.

It will be readily imagined that this shocking occurrence excited an extraordinary sensation all over Manheim, and this was greatly heightened by the impossibility of tracing it to some specific cause. An official intimation of the circumstances attending it, was instantly sent off to Carlesruhe; and a special courier despatched to Jena, charged with a request to the official authorities there, to seal up all Sand's papers, which was duly obeyed on the evening of the 25th. But nothing was found amongst them calculated to throw the smallest light on the apparently mysterious question, if we except the commencement of a letter, which stated, " I go to meet my fate—the scaffold!" There was not the least trace of any

accomplices to be found in his writings; Körner's poems lay open on his desk, and seemed to be the last book he had read previous to his departure. A commission of two members of the government at Weimar, required for the examination of the affair at Jena, were also appointed. In the hospital every attention was paid to the condition of Sand, pursuant to an order from the highest authority at Carlesruhe, directing that every means which the faculty could devise, should be adopted to save the culprit's life, in the hope that his recovery would lead to some important confessions.

On recovering from the fainting fits occasioned by excessive loss of blood, the first effort of Sand was to tear the dressings and bandages from his breast: his attendants found great difficulty in preventing the success of this attempt, and they were even obliged to obstruct the use of his hands, a measure that produced a repetition of the swoonings. After an attentive examination, the medical men said, that although the poignard did not penetrate the heart, the lungs were so severely wounded, as scarcely to admit a possibility of the patient's recovery. They indulged a hope, however, that his life would be preserved for a short time, and that he might acquire sufficient strength, to enable him to make intelligible replies to any questions the magistrates were desirous of putting to him. In fact, he did reco-

ver his speech next day, but only employed it to ejaculate a few prayers: it was also remarked that he bore his sufferings, which were of the most agonizing description, with a degree of patience and resignation that would not have disgraced a martyr. His beautiful person, extreme composure, and apparent self-satisfaction, inspired such general interest, that hundreds flocked to see him: he was interrogated twice each day, as long as his strength and articulation permitted. Sand did not deny, that he had resolved on the death of Kotzebue for more than six months; but he added, that it cost him many a bitter pang and painful struggle with his conscience, before a conviction of its paramount necessity, finally determined him to become the executioner. In his ravings he would add, "but Kotzebue must have died, the general interests of Germany demanded it, for his manifold offences against the country and the people." Pursuing the same strain he pitied the family of the sufferer, though he considered the deed as meritorious, and himself as a Brutus, who had delivered his beloved country.

The above may be considered as a correct epitome of his replies, for the same thing was constantly repeated in every successive interrogatory, and they were also to be seen in the written declaration found on him when arrested. He constantly and firmly denied having had any

accomplices, or being engaged in a combination with others, invariably maintaining, that the act and determination originated solely with himself. Though the greatest pains were taken during his collected moments to draw forth a more satisfactory statement, he never varied from his first replies, but steadily adhered to them as the only ones he had to make.

To such a degree had the fever caused by his wounds increased, that subsequently to the 28th of March, no visitors were permitted to see him, while every attempt to obtain answers to any other questions became perfectly fruitless; his extreme weakness being such as almost to deprive him of utterance. When the fever had somewhat abated, and his mind was more collected, he made signs that he heard and understood what they asked him. This induced the magistrates to cause a pen to be placed in his hand, which was held, in the hope of his being thus able to trace a few lines in reply to their farther interrogations: this expedient seemed particularly irksome to the invalid, and he considered it as a great addition to his sufferings—perhaps it was an unnecessary aggravation of them, for it did not lead to the disclosure of a single new fact.

The more detailed reveries of Sand's extraordinary mind, were developed on the large sheet of paper already alluded to, and evidently written

by himself: it resembled a species of proclamation, and bore the following superscription: "DEATH-BLOW FOR AUGUSTUS VON KOTZEBUE," with the following motto: "VIRTUE IN FREEDOM AND UNITY." But that the reader may be enabled to form a more correct opinion of this curious document, as well as to estimate the singular degree of methodical arrangement which marked the insane proceedings of Sand, an extract is subjoined.

"Our days," he observes, "require acts of promptness and decision agreeable to the law which God has written, with inextinguishable characters of fire, on the human heart! Prepare yourselves, therefore, and chuse between life or death! Palpable and unblushing infamy is not the spoiler that corrodes our blood, but vice still more odious, is the canker-worm, that deceives, by assuming the garb of modesty. Thus, while falsehood disguises herself in a thousand meretricious forms, it is the wretched lot of the people to become the willing dupes and victims of such lamentable weakness!

"Half informed fools, and crippled sages, make a point of insulting and torturing truth, while that benign attribute sits enthroned on the minds of men with simplicity and honour!

"Many individuals of the great German nation may precede me; but none can entertain

greater detestation for the cowardly and venal sentiments of these degenerate days! I must e'en give you a proof of my sincerity; and illustrate my opinion of such ignoble sloth. I know of nothing more meritorious, than that of striking down the arch-slave and protecting shield of these mercenary times—thou despoiler of virtue, and traitor to my country, Augustus Von Kotzebue!" It is thus that he continues in the most extravagant language to deplore the degradation of Germany, the corruption of her rulers, and the prostituted talents of many public writers. Stimulated by that despairing paroxysm, which seems to have become habitual latterly, at least on this point, he calls for the punishment and annihilation of all such miscreants, as the only means of delivering his beloved country: pursuing the *maniac* strain, he requires that the glorious example which will shortly be achieved against the most obnoxious, may be followed by a similar attack on his coadjutors, to produce unity and freedom, protect and defend that church, whose reformation is not yet complete, and finally, to establish ONE church and ONE state throughout Germany! "Most joyfully," said he, "do I take the lead in this combat, and sacrifice my life to such an act, as an acceptable offering to the land of my fathers!"

Another memorandum which he inserted in the album of a friend, long before the above was

written, furnishes an additional proof of his unsettled mind. Having prefixed the following verse to it:

> Our death will be that of a hero,
> A brilliant triumph and an early grave;

he proceeds, "Nothing will be done if we are not really heroic, and do not sustain the spirit by continual prayer to the Most High, only living to perform his will with lively enthusiasm. We shall surely conquer if we remain honest and faithful to each other. An early death does not destroy the victory for which we all strive as heroes. Therefore let our doctrine be religiously to believe in God, humbly to cherish him in our hearts, to adhere firmly to his commands on earth, and above all, steadfastly to love the land of our fathers and of our children! Let us either obtain freedom in this life, or mix our dust with that of our ancestors! May the God of justice dwell with us! When thou shalt once more reach Voightland,* think of thy fellow sufferer and unceasing coadjutor in the path of truth, taking care to cherish in heartfelt friendship all the devout of our native land, with thy CHARLES LOUIS SAND of Weinseidel.--Jena, June 21, 1818."

The style and nature of these two papers, par-

* The province in which Weinseidel is situated.

ticularly the last, leave but little doubt as to the causes which led to this catastrophe. Some have concluded, that Sand must have laboured under an intellectual malady, from the circumstance of there being a green-striped ribband found on his breast after Kotzebue's death, and upon which he had written :

" With this I devote myself to death ! 1815. Am I not serious ? Should I have crossed the Rhine again on my return except as victor ?"

Whatever act this mysterious inscription might have indicated, it clearly marks the epoch of a strongly excited temperament ; and although the assiduity with which he pursued his studies, as well as the moral rectitude of his conduct, forbids us to characterize his malady by the title of habitual or confirmed insanity, it may be fairly inferred, that the latent spark might have remained in a state of quiescence, but for the provocation given, and the tumult excited in the united body of German students ; for it was only about six months previous to this event, that he was ever known to express himself so warmly on the subject of Kotzebue's calumnies. On the other hand, every circumstance that has transpired, no less than the singular firmness and tenacity of his own character, proves, almost to a demonstration, that he had no immediate accomplices in this daring act. Even those who have been foremost in vilifying

the German youth, cannot in their hearts suspect them capable of deliberate assassination. What, therefore, but the base and vindictive malice of a grovelling mind, one of those wretched writers who are ever ready to justify the exertion of arbitrary power, could have put the following paragraph into a Parisian paper, the *Journal des Debats?*—"Sand," observes this scurvy politician and impotent reasoner, "was induced to commit the crime by the outrageous declamations of the German reformers, who envied Kotzebue those talents, with which he defended the policy and institutions of legitimate monarchs. While this horrid murder proves to what excesses the fanaticism of the *false liberals*, revolutionists and anarchists may lead—!"

The people of Germany will treat the calumnies of this insolent scribbler with the contempt they so justly deserve; and if disposed to retaliate, might it not be retorted that there is a much greater predilection in favour of political changes in France, than amongst its northern neighbours.*

* In making due allowance for the irritation so naturally excited by the passage the author has cited, and admitting the justice of his subsequent remark to a certain extent, there is very little doubt but that if the same causes for revolution had existed in Germany twenty-five years ago, similar effects must have followed long since. If the flattering auspices under which the change of system in France commenced, were rendered nugatory by the wickedness

Whatever may be thought of this action in England, at least by the advocates and supporters of

of some, and the intemperate zeal of others, does it follow that the unhappy people, who were merely passive instruments in the hands of rival or contending factions, are less entitled to sympathy, or worthy of a better fate? It is, however, consoling for the philanthropist and enlightened friend of liberty to reflect, that if the people of France have suffered much during that war of alternate disaster and glory which has devastated Europe for so long a period, their country has arisen out of the political conflagration with a great accession of freedom. Many intolerable abuses, originating in legal tyranny and feudal oppression, accumulated for centuries, are now happily eradicated; a number of barbarous laws, and a system of taxation no less onerous than partial, are abrogated: to crown the whole, France may very justly boast of her Code Napoleon, and election law, since both have excited not only the admiration but the envy of many able writers in this country.

Having mentioned the CODE NAPOLEON, the Editor cannot suffer the occasion to pass, without expressing his deep regret, at the unjust and cruel policy which has consigned him, who had the unfading honour of promulgating and giving his name to that code, to a prison; for by what other term can we designate the desolate and unhealthy island of St. Helena? While reflecting on the ruthless persecution of those whom his greatness of mind and clemency often spared, it must be some consolation for Napoleon to know that his admirable code of laws will contribute to the happiness of millions yet unborn, when the most powerful individuals of the present race are forgotten, or only remembered by their crimes and follies.

If, however, this country is to be made the instrument, so contrary to its honour and interests, of thus forcibly retaining the late ruler of France much longer, it is sincerely to be hoped that the sovereigns will maturely consider the fearful responsibility they incur by Napoleon's imprisonment; the awful charge to which his falling a sacrifice to a corroding climate and harsh treat-

despotism, we are confident that while the great body of the people unite in a sentiment of just abhorrence of any thing having the semblance of assassination, there will be but one opinion as to the conduct of M. Von Kotzebue ;—but if a great deal of falsehood and exaggeration has crept into the German papers, no wonder that our remoter neighbours should be still more led astray on the real state of the case. Nothing, for instance, can be farther from the truth, than charging the universities with being the cause of this occurrence, even if some concurring circumstances seemed to authorize such an opinion. As to the insinuations of De Stourdza, they are merely intended to justify measures of coercion, which those who employed that contemptible satellite of arbitrary power, well knew they were not justified in adopting.

In his more tranquil moments Sand has been in the habit of asking for a Bible, and incessantly talks of religion, though he occasionally reads the works of Schiller and Körner.* He inspired such

ment must inevitably give rise; and above all, the probable consequences of establishing a precedent never resorted to in any former period of history, and one, that may some day or other be fatal to their successors!

* It is scarcely necessary to inform the reader, that Schiller is considered as the TACITUS of Germany, while Körner, a patriotic poet, who died in the flower of his age, continues to be read by all the German youth with the utmost avidity.—ED.

universal interest with the public, and the anxiety to see him was so great, that soon after the event, he was removed to a more retired part of the hospital, and attended with the utmost solicitude. In consequence of a representation from the Grand Duke of Baden to the ministry of justice, a special commission was appointed, under the authority of the Court Chancellor, Baron Hokenhurst, to continue the investigation with increased care and activity. Being considered the best medical attendant that could be found in the vicinity, Professor Chelins of Heidleberg has been sent to Manheim, and was desirous of performing an operation, which he thought likely to prolong the patient's life. Sand, however, not only objected to any measure of the kind, but obstinately resisted every attempt to put it into effect.

In addition to the various other testimonies in favour of Sand's character, the following received by his family, in a letter addressed to a member of it from the captain in whose company he served in 1815, is also worth preserving: "I had constant opportunities of observing him," says this document; "and every day only tended to increase my esteem and respect for the rectitude of his conduct, his prepossessing manners, and enthusiastic love of truth. He was, in fact, as modest, gentle, and free from all violent passion as any human being could be; so that I do not consider

this act as the offspring of fanaticism, but the commencement of madness."

It is worthy of remark that when the body of Kotzebue was opened, every organ was observed to be perfectly sound, so that he would have probably lived to a much more advanced age, if this tragical event had not occurred. His remains, followed by four mourning coaches, were interred on the morning of the 25th, two days after the catastrophe. Augustus Von Kotzebue was born at Weimar, March the 3d, 1761, where his father, whom he lost at the early age of two months, was counsellor of legation. It was to his uncle, the celebrated Musæus, he owed his early advancement in literature, an occupation, or rather a trade, which he commenced at the age of eighteen; and continued with various success to the day of his death. As a dramatic writer, the fame of Kotzebue will no doubt long survive him; but we are justified in asserting that the more important and lasting celebrity of possessing an independent mind, and being attached to public liberty, had expired before him!*

* The praise thus bestowed on Kotzebue as a dramatic writer can only apply to the easy style and occasional wit of his numerous compositions in that department of literature; for it is notorious that generally speaking, like too many other dramatists of his country, this author also made the interests of morality subservient to those of his plot and story. All who are acquainted with the high sense of religion and comparative simplicity of manners

The many presentiments of an untimely end, experienced by M. Kotzebue, furnished his mystical friends with the subject of a fine elegy to his memory, and will no doubt be alluded to on his monument; but were not these gloomy presages the warning monitors of that conscience, which, in the emphatic language of Shakespeare, "makes cowards of us all!"

In concluding our account of this extraordinary event, it is scarcely possible to avoid expressing an almost equal degree of regret for the fate of Kotzebue, and him who perpetrated the deed:

by which the people of Germany are distinguished, above many other nations of Europe, have good reason to be astonished at the false taste and pernicious tendency of its national theatre. However, like all that is calculated to flatter the vanities and amuse the curiosity of the public, this is also contagious, and without waiting for the most popular and perhaps least moral productions of the German dramas reaching us through a more circuitous route, they have been imported direct; accordingly, we find The Stranger, Lovers Vows, and numerous pieces of a lighter description, fairly naturalized. The two first have, in fact, been adopted as standard plays in the two *national theatres*, as they are styled by some people. But what reader of either sex requires to be informed that the heroine of one, who is made to excite the tenderest sympathies of British matrons and maids, has violated the most solemn of all earthly vows, while the hero consents to a reconciliation, which would stamp an English husband with never fading infamy and dishonour!

Why not endeavour to make our audiences relish the beauties of Schiller, Goethe and Lessing, instead of destroying all their remaining taste by melo-dramatic follies?—Ed.

both were the victims of delusion; the Counsellor in carrying on a systematic warfare against public bodies, whose resentment a little cool reflection must have led him to anticipate; Sand in not manifesting a timely resistance to those fatal chimeras which ultimately led to the commission of his crime: both, on the other hand, furnish society at large with a most useful lesson; and, we trust, that like so many others, it will not be lost either on present times or future generations. Although it is evident nothing but mental derangement could have led such an amiable and uniformly inoffensive character on to the performance of this horrible act, we earnestly hope that the Scriptural adage, "out of evil cometh good," may also be realized on the present occasion; and that the awful event may give rise to the most salutary consequences, particularly on the part of those who direct the press in Germany, setting themselves up at once as the censors of the age and the organs of government. While the experience of history proves, that even the patronage and protection of the great is not always sufficient to guard us against popular revenge,* this event shews how possible it is to work up even the most virtuous to deeds of desperation. Let both the rulers and public writers of Germany, therefore, reflect on all the circumstances of this singular

* Lord Bacon calls revenge a wild sort of justice.—Ed.

case, and recollect, that the ardent frame of mind which precipitated the youthful student into the vortex of a dreadful crime, belonged to an individual hitherto distinguished for the possession and practice of every virtue that can adorn the human heart. Finally, let them keep in mind, that had not such a writer as Augustus Von Kotzebue devoted his pen to the unjustifiable object of vilifying the proudest institutions of his country, IT IS MORE THAN PROBABLE THE UNHAPPY SAND HAD NEVER BEEN A MADMAN AND A MURDERER!!!

ADDENDA.

The Editor cannot conclude the foregoing brief statement of facts, in a more appropriate manner, than by presenting the reader with a literal copy of Sand's celebrated letter, in which he took leave of his family and friends; also with the extract of a letter from a celebrated German professor at Weimar, which serves to throw some additional light on the causes that gave rise to the catastrophe. The former is dated from Jena, but did not reach the family of Sand for some time after. Though so strongly tinctured with the malady of the writer, it evinces a strength of mind and nobleness of character, rarely to be met with in the ravings of insanity.

" To my beloved Family, and dearly cherished Friends.

" Why should I augment your sufferings yet? Thus have I thought and wavered about addressing you; but, though a sudden account of my

meditated act, might soften the acuteness of your grief, and render its duration shorter; still affection would be lacerated, whereas the severest anguish can be most easily obliterated by emptying the chalice of bitterness at once, and submitting with entire resignation to the will of our Father who is in Heaven! Away therefore! Burst from this closed and anxious heart, thou source of torment! The last utterance can alone sweeten the pang of separation! To you, my beloved friends, this paper conveys the final adieu of a son and a brother! I have long panted and wished for action: but the period has at length arrived, when I must no longer dream, for the distresses of my country press for deeds.—

" It is doubtless a great calamity in this life, when God's will remains unaccomplished by our inertness.—Surely our greatest reproach is, that all those principles of honour and justice which thousands sacrificed themselves to establish, are suffered to sleep like the shapeless phantom of an idle dream! If the stream of reformation be frozen, ere it has run half its course, our grandchildren will have to lament the slothfulness of their fathers! The regeneration of German life has commenced within the last twenty years, particularly in the sacred ONE of 1813, blessed by the inspired courage of God! Our fathers' mansion has been shaken to the very foundation.

Forward! Let us hasten to rebuild it with renovated beauty. Let us erect a temple worthy of the Divinity, and such as our hearts dictate! A few oppose themselves, like a dyke, to the highest human excellence of our nation! Why do multitudes bow under the galling yoke of such wretches? Many ruthless seducers drive on their game unsuspectingly, to the ruin of our people! Amongst them, is Kotzebue; the most subtle and base of all, —the very proverb of all that is bad in our time: yet his voice is so attuned, that it blinds the senses; turning aside hatred from the most atrocious actions, finally it rocks us to sleep in the old, and fatal slumber. He daily commits treason against the land of his fathers, and stands securely protected by his arts of deceit and flattery: wrapt in the gaudy mantle of his poetical fame, his cowardice is not the less apparent, but it dazzles the public eye, and we swallow the poison which his semi-Russian periodical journal offers. Will not the most dreadful misfortunes overwhelm us? and can such communications lead either to freedom or happiness? Nay, can they avail us as connected with France?—If the history of our time is not to teem with disgrace, he must fall!—I again repeat, that if any good is to be obtained, we must not fear trouble and strife: while the real emancipation and liberty of the great German nation can only ripen, when brave burghers risk

and endeavour; when the son of the land embraces and loves death, in the contest for all that he values on earth!—Who then shall advance to crush this miserable varlet, this wretched traitor?

"I have waited the proper time, in tears and sorrowful anxiety, for the appearance of one who excels me, and will absolve me from the task. I am not formed to commit murder—who will release me from my agony, and suffer me to pursue the peaceful career I had chosen? None shew themselves, in spite of all my prayers; and every one has as much right as myself to wait for another! Delay renders our situation more dangerous and contemptible. Who shall save us from disgrace, if Kotzebue removes from German ground unpunished,* to enjoy his ill acquired treasures, in Russia? Who shall help and deliver us from this unhappy situation, if no one steps forward?—I hear a call to execute justice, and perform the deed that must be achieved for revered Germany! Advance therefore courageously! Yes! I will go forward with godly confidence to administer justice, (do not start!) to overturn him, the scandalizer and seducer of our nation! the barbarous traitor! That he may be stopped from turning us from

*M. Kotzebue was reported to be on the point of retiring to his estate in Russia, just before his death.

God and truth, or from delivering us to our deadliest enemies! To this my earnest duty drives me. Since I have known how much is to be done for our people, and since I well know the false subtle knave, this has become my fate, like those patriots of old who only considered the general good!

"Oh! that I may by this national revenge, apprize our rulers and public functionaries, how falsehood and tyranny injure their cause, and turn the attention of all the vigorous German youth, to saving our native country! May I spread terror amongst the evil-minded, and inspire the deserving with courage!

"Writings and speeches are insufficient—Actions such as these can alone avail. If I can but cast one firebrand to awaken the minds of the people, and raise one flame, for the glorious warfare, which according to God's will, began in 1813, I shall fulfil my utmost and highest wishes! For this have I relinquished all the delightful dreams of life! But I am contented and full of confidence in God, since my path is marked out, through darkness and death, to repay the debt I owe my country.

"May every true heart prosper! This sudden separation is a trial; and your expectations, as well as my wishes are overthrown; but may it be a comfort and preparation to us, for we have fulfilled what our country required, and what I im-

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bibed as one of my first and most unalterable principles. You will say of me: "he has through our means learnt to understand human life; and appears really to have loved not only his country but its renown." Yes! such was indeed the case. Under your fostering care, and owing to your innumerable sacrifices, I was early imbued with the love of life and my country. You made me acquainted with the sciences; I have lived in mental freedom; looked into history, and then turned back to my own reflections; and through an examination of the understanding, endeavoured to become fully acquainted with myself and my own situation.

"I have studied the sciences in the usual manner, and seen through the laws of human wisdom; I have delivered my opinion on them, and in preparing for life, learnt the manner and employment of the inhabitants in various parts of Germany. I would have gladly passed my days as a preacher of the gospel, and in the event of being overtaken by calamities, God would have assisted me to fulfil my duty; but should all this deter me from shielding my country from impending ruin? Should not the inexpressible love I bear towards it, stimulate my zeal for the general interest, and to court death in such a cause?

"How many degenerated Grecians have there not fallen in attempting to free their country from

the Turks, and gladly gave up their lives without effecting a favourable result? Many, amongst us, have devoted themselves to the service of their country; and should I not die?—Should we, to whom the deliverance and advantage is so essential, do nothing to effect it? Am I insensible of your affection, or do I value it lightly?—Believe it not! What else should encourage me to die, if not this very affection which you divide with my native country? Mother! you will say, "why have I brought up my son to manhood, he whom I loved, and who loved me in return; for whom I bore a thousand cares and anxieties; who, through my prayers, became good and virtuous, and from whom in the last days of my life's exhausted career, I looked for filial regard: why does he now forsake me? Inestimable mother! may no other parent make the same lamentation! If our country requires it, and none will perform the deed, what is to become of the land? But far be all such lamentations from thee! Thou art unacquainted with such sentiments. Noble woman! Have I not heard thee deplore the lot of suffering humanity?—and if no other undertook the rescue of Germany, that would urge me to the strife: still there are two brothers and two sisters left to console you: they remain; I follow my destiny!

"If I lived fifty years longer, I could not live more mentally or conscientiously than I have in

these my last years. Our destination is to learn how to know the true God, to strive against evil. In the world we only find anxiety. Oh! that we may all find peace with him! To his care and protection I commend you. May he raise you up to joy that cannot suffer from earthly disturbance! In all tempests, cling to the land of our fathers! Lead your little ones, to whom I would so gladly have been the friend and guide, to our highest mountains: let them there, upon elevated altars, consecrate themselves to the service of mankind!

"In joyful reliance upon thee, eternal God! I leave my country. May thy blessings flow upon the striving number of the nation who appreciate thy goodness; who, for the advantage of mankind, courageously hold up thy image on earth.

"The last and best preservation consists in the sword: then press the spear to the true heart, for that is the only way to German freedom!

Adieu!

"From your ever united son, affectionate friend, and brother,

"CHARLES LOUIS SAND."

Written at Jena, in the beginning of March, 1819.

EXTRACT, &c.

Alluded to in p. 35.

"The *Tugenbund*, or *Union of Virtue*," formed with the most patriotic design in the Prussian states, included many young men, who, though they returned to their studies, could not forget the military life, or those ideas of public liberty, engendered during their absence in the campaigns of 1815. The heads of this association, all of whom considered themselves as the restorers of German independence, soon formed connections with each other in the different universities. The tournament or gymnastic exercise, conducted on a military principle, and first suggested by Professor Jahn,* at Berlin, soon extended all over the confederation, and was considered by its advocates as eminently calculated to promote the revival of public spirit, and establish a greater share of li-

* This celebrated man has justly been consigned to one of the Prussian fortresses, together with many others.—Ed.

berty in Germany. The potentates assembled at the congress of Vienna had promised their people constitutions, and the abolition of all abuses, because their people were then wanted to aid them in their plans; but no sooner had the victory been gained, and the day of peril passed over, than those promises were forgotten! As might be expected, this greatly incensed the students, nearly all of whom had taken up arms, and marched, *equipped* at their own expence, to co-operate with the combined armies in 1815. Requisitions were in consequence sent from Jena to all the other German universities, to send deputies, for the purpose of celebrating the anniversary of the deliverance of Germany, in 1813. They were to meet at the Castle of Wartburg on the 18th of October, 1817, when it was also proposed to celebrate the third centenary of the reformation, and about five hundred students did assemble. After the festival a general union of all the universities was formed, under the name of Burschenschaft. The members present took the sacrament, engaging faithfully to support the rights of the society, and to persevere. It is supposed that the disturbance which took place at Gottingen in the summer of 1818, had some connection with this association. Kotzebue, who lived at Weimar at this period, and as the recognized diplomatic agent of Russia, sent half yearly reports on the state of

German literature and politics, to the Emperor Alexander, while he published a weekly journal in the same city. In this, as well as his reports, he declared himself decidedly hostile to the political tendency of the students. But when the circumstance of his disapprobation become apparent, by the discovery and subsequent publication of a report intended for the Emperor his master, he was thenceforth regarded as an apostate and traitor to the cause of German liberty. Amongst others, Professor Oken, editor of a journal called the Isis, at Jena, loaded him with invective and ridicule, till at length, the imperial Counsellor, not thinking himself safe at Weimar, removed to Manheim, where, however, he still continued to publish his paper, violently attacking the proceedings of the *Tourneyers* [as they are styled] and Burschenschaft. When at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, where the Holy Alliance met, in October, the Russian agent Stourdza, a Greek and private secretary of Alexander, received a commission to draw up *from documents and papers presented to the autocrat, by a German Court,* his pamphlet entitled "*Etat actuel de l'Allemagne,*" in which the universities are represented as being without subordination or discipline, the book was highly applauded by Kotzebue in his journal. This compilation of calumny and falsehood, which sounds the alarm of fire, if there is but an appearance of smoke, tended

greatly to increase the irritation already created in the minds of the students, wherever the above-named association had taken root. As to Stourdza, he soon found it necessary to change his place of abode, and after retiring to Dresden, finally left Germany for St. Petersburg, well knowing he had every reason to expect the resentment of the enemies he had thus made. When challenged for his strictures on the universities, by two young noblemen then studying at Jena, he refused to meet them, alledging in a letter to the Grand Duke of Weimar, that, as private secretary of the Emperor Alexander, he had only obeyed his imperial majesty's orders. The whole displeasure of the enraged students, was now directed against Kotzebue, who soon fell a victim to his imprudence."

DEFENCE

OF THE

GERMAN UNIVERSITIES

AGAINST THE CALUMNIES OF

AUGUSTUS VON KOTZEBUE.

On doit donc songer, non à repousser les lumières, mais à les rendre complétes, pour que leurs rayons brisés ne presentent point de fausses lueurs. Un gouvernement ne sauroit pretendre derober à une grande nation la connoissance de l'esprit qui regne dans son siècle; cet esprit renferme des éléments de force et de grandeur, dont on peut user avec succès quand on ne craint pas d'aborder hardiment toutes les questions: on trouve alors dans les verités éternells des ressources contre les erreurs passagères, et dans la liberté même le maintien de l'ordre et l'accroissement de la puissance.

DE L' ALLEMAGNE PAR MADAME DE STAEL.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

As the author of the following observations has been six years a pupil at the three universities of Wittenberg, Jena, and Gottingen, and twenty-five years a teacher at those of Frankfort, Konigsberg, Wittenberg, and Leipsic, he has had sufficient opportunities of gaining a thorough personal knowledge of the present state of the German universities; and he therefore feels himself competent to give an opinion on the subject. These remarks arose from the strictures contained in Kotzebue's weekly journal, wherein this topic is also discussed, though most probably without the writer's having any fixed data to guide his inquiries, and influenced more by prejudice than actual observation.

As the violent death of the imperial Russian counsellor, was unfortunately attended by circumstances, that appear to the readers of his paper as having had a close connection with his opi-

nions on the state of our universities, it has been thought necessary to break the silence hitherto preserved relative to the complaints against them contained in the above-named journal. It is for the reader, who may honour his remarks with a candid and dispassionate perusal, to decide between the accusations sent forth in the Weekly Literary Journal of M. Von Kotzebue, and the Author's reply to those heavy charges.

DEFENCE,

&c.

If the adage, *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*, affected the laws of criticism, we should gladly adopt it in reference to a periodical publication, whose third volume was stifled in its birth by the violent death of the author.

This fatal event, arising from political zeal and religious enthusiasm, which often resorts to such extraordinary expedients for the accomplishment of their object, has gone so far towards expiating the errors of the victim himself, that it must induce a mitigation of censure in the severest judges. But in the present instance, we have less to do with the author personally, than with the emanations of his mind; and shall not therefore take into consideration, that the poignard of an enthusiast has taken a terrible revenge on the man, who so often prostituted his fine talents, by perverting truth, violating good manners, and defaming his oppo-

nents. For even in the publication already alluded to, notwithstanding his plausible motto of "*speak* the *truth* and *fear none*," he frequently overlooked the salutary advice therein prescribed.

A journal, in mentioning the death of Kotzebue, lately asserted, that if the latter stated many falsehoods, and took great liberties with the character of individuals, he feared no one, but promulgated his opinions openly. I deny, however, that Kotzebue's sentiments, as expressed in his weekly paper, were always his own, or that he invariably wished them to be thought so by others. He certainly lost no opportunity of disseminating opinions which the great majority of his countrymen could only have regarded as palpable absurdities: amongst others, what are we to say of his assertion that Saxony was not unjustly dismembered after the treaty of Paris in 1814; and that this signal act of *legitimate* violence, could only be attributed to her own fault, because the Emperor Napoleon was not swept off, i. e. *assassinated* while at Dresden!*

* Is it not more than probable that Sand read the above singular opinion, and may not he have argued thus: "Those whom we consider as a public evil, we have a right to rid the world of—*ergo*, I consider Kotzebue as a public evil, and therefore, &c. * * * " What could the dramatist have said to this? Certainly no author had so often and so loudly advocated the jesuitical maxim, that "THE CAUSE PURIFIES THE MEANS," as Kotzebue, in his

As soon, however, as he found that a too candid avowal of certain opinions would be likely to militate against his personal interests, no man was more ready to retract and change sides, as strikingly manifested with regard to a well known publication,* though it was evident his mind had undergone no alteration. As he did not possess that degree of firmness and resolution, which can alone be the result of solid principles, springing from an honest conviction; and as his opinions were so variable that they might be said to turn round with the blast; it need excite very little surprise, if the editor of the Literary Journal never entered into argument upon any subject, but treated every thing with a degree of superficial flippancy, or at most, in a strain of witty invective, for this was his forte. Equally natural was it, for such a man to undertake the discussion of every subject, though in reality he understood none thoroughly. Kotzebue often contrived to baffle his adversaries with a species of playful irony, by which he frequently gained over the volatile portion of his readers; also those of maturer sense, who prefer

Plays; and yet he wars with the Jesuits in his journal: so full was this writer of contradictions.†

* Alluding most probably to M. De Stourdza's Memoirs.

† That M. Kotzebue was not singular in his notions as to the occasional necessity of *sweeping off*, is amply proved in the work of the Marquis De MAUBREUIL, one of the most curious and interesting publications that has appeared since the commencement of the French revolution.—ED.

frivolity to reflection, or mistake ridicule for reason. The truth of this remark cannot be denied by his greatest admirers.

In the course of its short career, the Literary Journal has, perhaps, noticed some thousands of publications; and nearly all in the above way, which may be truly called the worst of all methods, for instead of teaching, it confuses; instead of enlightening, it misleads and bewilders!

From the same source also, arose the contempt with which M. Kotzebue treated liberal ideas in politics and government; for if he was known to support them at one period of his life, how much more frequently has he been occupied in depreciating and condemning them? If you saw him leaning towards the rights of mankind, or throwing in a few sentences favourable to the spirit of the age, in one number of his paper, the succeeding sheet presented him arrayed in arms against both: just as interest or passion seemed to dictate.*

Carefully to examine the nature of these ideas, inquire whence they arose, or how far their application could be rendered useful to the world; to ascertain, by fact and argument, whether the spirit of the age was good or bad; how the advantages resulting from it could be applied to practice,

* Are there no parallels to be found amongst the daily editors and critical writers of another country?—Ed.

without producing those mischiefs with which, if not thus investigated, it may also teem; in what manner legislators, without eradicating the good, could suppress the evil: to analyze and promote these highly important questions, was neither the care or business of Kotzebue: it was too fatiguing, and required too great an exertion of thought! It is not by hastily looking over a hundred volumes, that we can become acquainted with their contents. As to the Editor of the Literary Journal he seemed to be satisfied with this system; for having found out a few passages, calculated to pamper the appetites and flatter the vanities of a certain class, his purpose seemed to be fully answered, while the plan left full scope for the exercise of his wit and satire. Thus it was, that without reading, and consequently incapable of doing justice to any one publication, did M. Kotzebue profess to review many hundreds!

The Literary Journal sometimes rose to the elevation of the sciences, which were perfectly foreign, and a real *terra incognita* to the author; and amongst other subjects, those of theology and physic. Because these topics afforded an opportunity of being witty, he took great liberties with them; and, like many other of a similar description in his plays, the writer himself considered his lucubrations as the effusions of elegance and piety. He rifled old critiques from periodi-

cal works, to glean reviews for books he had never read. Muller has already, in his publication, called the Polite World, detected Kotzebue in many such plagiarisms. A similar instance might be cited from the Hermes. In the first part of that periodical work, there were six reviews upon various publications by Titler, Kramer, Beckendorf, and others: these six works were also reviewed in the Literary Journal, vide No. 24. and exactly to the same effect; nay, almost in the same words, but abridged and somewhat differently arranged: the whole evidently stolen from the Hermes; although it was not even once alluded to! In a subsequent number, however, (vide No. 26,) the Literary Journal mentions the Hermes in terms of great praise, as if anxious, by this indirect mode, to acknowledge the services it had previously rendered. And yet Kotzebue has often inveighed against quotations as a species of literary theft. But such was the inconsistency of his character, that he frequently condemned in others what he tolerated in himself!

After these preliminary remarks on the Literary Journal and its editor, I proceed to view it rather more in detail, particularly as it concerns a subject of great interest and very general discussion at the present moment; satisfied that the facts I am about to adduce, will prove still more unequivocally how extremely superficial as well as unjust

Kotzebue's opinions were upon the most important subjects.

In the eighteenth number of his paper for the present year, he reviewed the representation published by the government of Hanover, relative to the famous affair of the students at Gottingen. That memorable document closes with the following sentence, which every friend to learning and science must regard as emanating from an exalted and liberal source. "It would be an irreparable misfortune," says this admirable address, "were we to lose our university system, by which the talents and energy of our youth, have such a wide field for expansion and developement, to be changed for another, uniting illiberality with bad management!" Blessings on those who uttered such a generous and well-timed sentiment! equal praise to that government which authorized its publication!*

But how did Kotzebue conduct himself on the above occasion? "We cannot," said he, with his high flown style and affected importance, "convince ourselves that the *self-called academical liberty*, can be pronounced either noble or liberal!" Wretched sophistry! While the representation eulogizes the whole German university system,

* The government of Weimar and Gotha, have recently promulgated a similar address. Let us hope that the larger states will follow their example.

Kotzebue only remembers *academical liberty*, which merely forms a part of it; and what idea does he entertain or give of this liberty? Let the reader judge for himself!

"Then in what does this liberty consist? In nothing but the unbridled privilege of every student to lead a life of dissipation, to visit the colleges, or absent himself; consequently to learn something, or remain in ignorance; to take care of his money, or throw it away; cheat the *Philistines*, or pay his debts, &c. Where then consists the nobility of this system?" Certainly not in the foregoing privileges; but how extremely absurd to tax the universities with a charge, that is evidently made up of calumny and falsehood. Surely all men may be dissipated, economists, or spendthrifts; pay their debts or cheat their creditors: for they are no longer children, or in fetters. Who but a jaundiced reasoner, or rather one devoid of reason, could make that liberty a crime in the university system of Germany, which is the natural and inherent right of all? Has not the Divinity left us to chuse between good and evil, virtue and vice? And while human laws so properly punish or restrain the improper application of this choice, surely the liberty of visiting the colleges, or staying away, consequently to remain ignorant, or learn something, is vitally essential to academical freedom? But I deny that, be-

cause a man does not frequent the universities, it follows, he should remain in ignorance; for there have been and still exist many truly great and learned men, who were never diligent in their attendance at the colleges, because they preferred studying at home.

It might be justly considered as a waste of time were I to point out the inefficacy, not to say illegality of changing the liberty of attendance or non-attendance as noticed by M. Kotzebue. We know that in ordinary schools the boys are obliged to remain fixed to the benches until the hour of meals or relaxation arrives; yet with this precaution, and the strictest discipline in other respects, do they all become equally clever? Would it be prudent to force improvement, and engender a spirit of tyranny in the process of bringing it about? Is there any wisdom in converting those whom we destine for the ornaments of society into passive machines? "Why do we send our sons to the university?" proceeds the Literary Journal. "Is it not for the purpose of their learning something useful? Yet, what is there done to produce this object? Nothing more than the professor's standing up to read, quite indifferent whether any one hears him or not: this is a point of no importance to him!" How many falshoods and evasions in this short extract! What! is learning the only motive for a university educa-

tion? It is, in my humble opinion, but one source of intellectual wisdom. The higher branches of mental attainment, to which learning is only an auxiliary, consist of the clear developement of the mind, either by throwing new light on the sciences, or applying what we know of them, to the practices and pursuits of future life. But to extend the question farther, a still more important consequence of academical freedom suggests itself: I allude to the formation of a steadfast character on the part of the students.

To promote the above object, no less desirable than necessary, it is essential that the university candidate should enjoy much more liberty than the school-boy; and that instead of obeying the capricious mandates of a pedagogue, he should learn how to guide and instruct himself: he cannot always remain subject to the trammels of a village seminary, but must sooner or later commence his own government and tuition. For the accomplishment of these objects, a university, to speak figuratively, may be called the first stepping-stone, and finally become the intermediate gradation between the first rudiments of education, and his entering on the great stage of life. The distinguishing attribute of a university, is that of its providing for the mental advancement of young men, while it also forms the character. It is in such seminaries that they may be said to

commence and acquire habits of study, which they pledge themselves to follow up in after years; and with good reason, for no human being, who has once tasted the joys of intellectual life, should ever cease to be his own teacher. If, as some have proposed, the present universities are to be transformed into schools, the only method left for governments, is to establish new ones by which progressive improvement will be secured, and the student will avoid too rapid a transition from the first scene of tuition, into the vortex of public life. When the university of Berlin was founded, it was destined to hold a much higher rank than any of the others, and to receive those young men, who had studied for several years in the subordinate colleges; such as students whose minds had been most developed, and whose judgments were most matured. This was by no means a bad notion, while it was perfectly suitable to the exigencies of the times; for it cannot be denied, that many young men enter our universities at too early an age, and even leave them, when they were formerly in the habit of entering.

At one time the higher class of schools, named Gymnasiums and Lyceums, were attended in the fourteenth year, and the pupil remained until his twentieth, he then removed to the university; and continued there till his twenty-fourth year.

But now, it is customary for many of our youth to enter the former at the age of twelve, these seldom stay till the seventeenth, finally quitting the universities at twenty.

It may also be noted amongst other defects, for I rather wish to remove than perpetuate abuses, that instead of the pupils being under that strict discipline necessary at an early age, or of forming their minds by a close application to the best authors, they are now often suffered to attend the lecture room of the professors too soon; and are thus released from salutary restraint when they are not yet sufficiently formed to be able to regulate either their studies or conduct. Can it be possible for such a revolution to have taken place in the human mind, that a youth of seventeen is as fit for the university now, as one of twenty was two hundred years ago? This may be justly considered as the reason why academical liberty, without which a university cannot be regarded as an institution for forming the character and expanding the mind, is by no means suited to the extreme youth of some collegians; and also, why this liberty is somewhat more abused than formerly. But in this case the universities are not so much to blame as the governments. The parents, who feel anxious to get their sons settled early in life, as it is called, and therefore fancy they cannot attend the university soon enough,

are also to blame. Perhaps many are led into the above error, by the expences now attendant *on education:* these have unfortunately increased, while the means of defraying them daily *diminish all over Germany.*

But should the young pupils fail in the degree of their advancement, waste their time and money; if they misunderstand, or abuse academical liberty, and commit foolish excesses, then do the parents join in the outcry against the universities; whereas it is they alone who deserve censure. Is the above course either just or equitable? Should we attribute the evils we have brought on ourselves, to those who have no power to avert them? Ought we to forget all the benefits arising from our universities, because the abuses I have mentioned, are connected with their present administration? It should also be kept in mind, that when the head of a school dismisses a pupil as efficient, the university dare not turn him back.

And is it true, as asserted in the Literary Journal, that in accomplishing the only object, M. Kotzebue will allow the universities to have in view, viz. the learning, "nothing farther is done, than for the professor to stand up and read, perfectly indifferent whether he is heard or not?" I confess there is some difficulty in preserving the language of moderation on the perusal of such a palpably unfounded assertion; yet I will be

calm, and reply to the calumny by an undeniable fact. It is well known, then, that every newcomer, at our university, amongst other injunctions received on his first entrance, is earnestly admonished to be diligent; and also spurred on to emulation. That no professor of integrity and honour, (for if there be any without either, it is the fault of the government which appoints them) can be indifferent on such occasions, or careless whether the students hear him or not. It is the duty and interest of every teacher to arrange his lectures in such a way as that they may ensure not only a willing but attentive hearing: because even in universities, there exists no actual power of compelling the auditors to pay attention. None but the most pedantic and inefficient dispensers of learning could desire such a power; like those wretched and drawling preachers, who wish the people to be driven to church as a flock of sheep to fill the otherwise empty benches, and condemned to hear interminable sermons.*

* Nil sub sole novi! exclaimed the wisest man of antiquity! So would the professor, if he had been in the habit of attending divine service in the British metropolis; where, even the advocates for building new churches, cannot deny that both reading and preaching is in a most lamentably backward state: nor is it saying too much to add, that it would be of infinitely more importance to the established religion, to remedy this evil, than by adding to the number of our temples.—Ed.

Should half-yearly examinations be instituted, for the purpose of promoting assiduity and perseverance amongst the young men? If so, let that method be adopted; but we may assure ourselves before hand, that the students will not thereby learn a particle more of the sciences, if they have no natural talents, or a desire to do so: besides, there are already such examinations, without any particular advantage being derived from them. In Konigsberg it was formerly (and may be still) a rule, that all the professors in the public lectures, should thus examine their pupils at the close of every six months; I can, however, truly aver, that the Konigsberg students were not an iota more advanced than those of Wittenberg, Frankfort, or Leipsic; nor have I ever heard that the university of the first named city, can boast of lectures that could claim any superiority over her rivals; on the contrary, it may be ranked far behind many, where no such examinations take place. I am led to believe these periodical examinations are instituted at all the Catholic universities; but are they on that account superior to the Protestant ones? Do they produce more profound scholars or learned men than others? This is a question which it is not for me to decide!*

* This opinion of the author with respect to the unimportance

The next passage worthy of notice in the Literary Journal, runs as follows: "It therefore entirely depends on the first good or bad education of a youth, upon his disposition, diligence, or idleness, whether he yields to, or resists temptation, and finally whether he fulfils the future hopes of his parents or not." Here, as it sometimes happens, the imperial Russian Counsellor is perfectly right; but in his general anxiety to condemn the universities, he must have forgotten that the above passage contains the best apology their warmest advocates could devise. For admitting the truth of M. Kotzebue's position, and I am not disposed to deny its validity, it is not the university, but partly human nature, and partly education, that should be censured for the failures of this or that individual, who leaves it without having accomplished the wishes of his family and friends. So that it is only for parents and teachers to send good subjects, in which case they may safely calculate on their success. Let the materials be only good, and I can assure those who coincide with M. Kotzebue's strictures, that they will not be spoiled at the universities. But having advanced this notable truism, what conclusion does the writer draw from it? "He,"

of periodical examinations, will not find many advocates in this country, where they form so striking a feature in our system of education.—Ed.

the youth who goes to a university, " resembles a bottle of letters, which a seaman casts into the sea, without knowing whether it will ever reach the land; or becoming the sport of the waves, it may not be dashed against some rock of coral? In truth, every father must now tremble when he sends his son to the university!" Yes, but has he not more reason to tremble for having a child at all? For this quaint simile of the bottle, is equally applicable to an infant at the hour of its birth, when we all know, that nothing but storms, shoals and quicksands await him! Really, according to the above reasoning, if not already tossed about on the stormy billows of life, we ought to be very angry with our parents for ushering us into the world! Tremble therefore you who have not only been born, but have had the still greater misfortune to *marry;* for every child that happens to be the result of your union, will only be a " bottle of letters cast into the sea!" and most probably, after much tossing about be " dashed against a coral rock." Like all other fathers while pressing the babe to your bosom, and offering up prayers for its future happiness, you must be satisfied to remain in a state of ignorance; for you cannot know whether he shall become a Socrates or an Erastratus; a Marcus Aurelius, or a Commodus? How anxiously was not that model of emperors and kings occupied in rendering his

son worthy of becoming a successor to himself; and yet, what a monster did he not prove! Have we not living examples to shew that what happened two thousand years ago has also occurred in the NINTEENTH CENTURY!

What infinite pains do we not daily see bestowed on a prince, because the welfare and happiness of millions is hereafter to depend on him! The first preceptors are sought for his instruction; all his steps are watched, to prevent his eyes being offended or his mind contaminated with evil: perhaps his own father is a model of exemplary virtue; yet, if not a Commodus, he may probably turn out a very insignificant sovereign, and ordinary character. However convenient it may sometimes be for a censurer of the age, or stipendiary critic, to sacrifice sense for sound, and substitute an ingenious simile for unsophisticated argument, I am satisfied that this comparison of the bottle, neither applies to the man who has gone into the great world, or who may have entered a university: there, the student is a being who has approached maturity; he lives in the midst of a formed community and regular habits; he is in the daily practice of hearing what he ought to do, and what to avoid; he cannot take a single wrong step without being censured, or forfeiting the respect and affection upon which his future prospects depend.

To those who require more security, what is to prevent them from placing their son under the moral care of some person in the town where his university happens to be situated: if suited to their circumstances, why not send a private tutor with him? Unhappily most fathers have a blind confidence in their children, who, as they often say, go forth perfectly correct and prudent from their hands; so that if the student is supplied with money, books, and clothes, it is all they think requisite. When he writes home, giving a long account of the works he has read, and the lectures he has heard, the parents are as happy as children who receive a toy; but when the news of some unexpected excess arrives, the university must bear all the blame, though they have themselves laid the foundation of his fall. Furthermore, I am sure I do not exaggerate, when I add that there exist many fathers, who with an air of self-satisfaction, make a point of relating all their youthful follies, while at college, to their sons, who may be on the eve of going to one; just as if these had been so many heroic exploits—recapitulating how they broke such a professor's windows, and beat such a *Philistine*; how many skirmishes they had with the agents of police, and number of watchmen they knocked down; together with all the other et-ceteras, of some university students. Can we wonder then, (to use

a familiar aphorism) that the apple does not fall far from the tree?

I would seriously advise all those who take a pride in exclaiming against the universities, first, to examine their own breasts, and then candidly confess how far they have abetted their sons: if, like the "bottle" of M. Kotzebue they become the sport of the waves and get dashed against some rock of coral! Proceeding in the same lugubrous strain, the editor of the Literary Journal adds—"He," the father, "will have most cause to fear if the young man has spirit and a lively imagination.—" It is not my business to inquire what recollections of the author's own college life flitted before him on penning the above sentence, but I shall proceed to his next, wherein he observes:—"For the coral rocks of *Farming Clubs, University Clubs and Tournaments;* aye, even the lecture rooms, where ignorant professors tell him, he is born to reform his native land, beset him every where, and no one answers to the anxious father for the proper application of his son's precious time." This last passage I shall attempt to analyze.

In the first place, if there is any proof of impropriety manifested by these associations, and we have reached that period in the history of Europe, when men cannot meet for their personal amusement, without exciting the fears of govern-

ment, ought not the proofs be made apparent, and proper measures taken to prevent any really evil consequences that might arise from them. Secondly, If there are lecture rooms in which ignorant professors tell their pupils they are called upon to reform the state, let them be locked up, and the professors dismissed. I have no objection whatever to such a measure, nor has any of those with whom I have the honor of acting; for we all respect common sense too much, to tolerate absolute folly! How lamentable that the author of the Literary Journal is no more! otherwise I should have required a little further information on this subject; well knowing, not only his general want of accuracy relative to historical events, but his very great proneness to pervert them. Thirdly, How the tournaments, or military sports, are dragged into this tirade against our public seminaries, I cannot possibly comprehend, if the real intention does not lie concealed, that of stirring every thing which may bear two meanings, into such a consistence, as to prevent our seeing what lays at the bottom! Military sports did not originate in the universities, nor are they encouraged in them with any great zeal, for there are very few teachers or places for exercises of that description at any of our colleges. But if there were, I am not ashamed to confess, that military sports, which also come under the

denomination of gymnastics, appear both salutary and useful*. This opinion is neither of a modern date or singular nature. If any unpleasant circumstances have occurred at some places where the students are dedicated to these sports, let no father place his son in them again. I understand they are all the fashion in France: if so, and the *penchant* only continues for a few months, I am sure we shall, according to the too prevalent mania of aping the manners and customs of our neighbours, soon make them general in Germany. Though, with that sophist, M. de Stourdza, I do not think the farming and university clubs ought to be regarded as combinations against the state; yet they certainly tend to create private dissentions amongst the students, and that circumstance is greatly to be deplored. My advice to our young countrymen, is, to give up all associations of a particular nature, and cling only to one, that which has learning and science for its object. But why should the universities be reproached with them just at this moment? And why, as Kotzebue says, should "every father tremble on sending his son to one." Combinations are so ancient, that even the diet of

* The German governments were glad enough not only to encourage, but take advantage of these sports during the late wars. —Ed.

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Revensberg took the subject into consideration more than once. Nor can I see why they ought to be regarded as such objects of apprehension. As to the melancholy fate of M. Kotzebue, I do not fear it; but I really think there is no reason to apprehend any thing of the kind; for amongsa millions there is scarcely one possessing such a peculiar frame of mind, as to be capable of offering up his life, to destroy that of one whom he can only regard as the enemy of public liberty, and not a private antagonist. This is, amongst many others, a reason for my totally disbelieving the ridiculous report of Sand's being fixed upon by lot to perform this sanguinary deed, as it would be next to an impossibility that the lot should fall on the right person, [at least on one who would consent to become an executioner,] from a large number of individuals.*

* Another account of this affair appears to be equally erroneous: it is said that a slip of paper was found upon Sand, bearing these words, "*Death-warrant for Augustus Von Kotzebue fulfilled the 23d March, by a resolution of the university.*" When could this have been written? Certainly not before the act, for a thousand circumstances might render delay expedient; and after the deed there was no time for writing it. This was the reason why many journals stated, instead of "fulfilled," "*to be* fulfilled;" but that was still more improbable. How long has it been customary for actions that require the utmost secresy to be registered on slips of paper, and these slips carried about the person of him who is destined to perform them?

If it be thought necessary to prevent all associations, and specific assemblages of the students, I am convinced it never can be effected without the concurrence and co-operation of their parents. When the latter send their children forth, why not take advantage of the parting hour, when the heart is open to paternal influence, and make them engage not to enter into any combination that has not learning and science exclusively for its object? This should be impressed on their minds whenever an occasion presented itself. But here also, most parents betray the utmost neglect, by taking no notice whatever of the circumstance: so far from it, indeed, that I know some fathers who were formerly at the university for which their son is destined, where they belonged to certain associations, called orders, so inconsiderate as to enter the young candidates' names into the same orders! How, therefore, is it possible for

And which of the universities could have issued this warrant? Why is not the right one named? Certainly not through forbearance! But the cause of this omission is plain, for as matters stand, the suspicion falls on all, and none can justify itself; nor is there any difficulty in tracing such accounts: vice invents and folly promulgates them. It has even become fashionable to deny oneself for fear of assassination. Nay, this absurd mania extends to people, for whose lives the world cares not a single straw, and whose exit would excite no more sensation than that of a barn-door theatrical!

the professors to counteract that which a parent sanctions with his encouragement?

The editor of the Literary Journal next asks, "would it not be rational (when the school restraint ceases) to make the youth perform those duties for which he is sent, such as attending the colleges and living orderly?" Here M. Kotzebue makes a distinction between school and college restraint, for which he is intitled to my thanks, though in his grave. The other part of his proposition is unfortunately inadmissible. As we have no power of forcing the minds of students to imbibe our lessons, what would be the use of insisting on their attendance as a measure of coercion; while those who are really disposed to improve themselves, will never require any rules to enforce attendance? With respect to the second point, that of living orderly, every violation of the law is provided for by an adequate punishment; but if the writer means that occasional breaches of good manners, or rather the absence of them in some students, can be remedied by any positive laws, I shall not stop to argue the matter, well convinced that no man of sober reflection will regard the interrogation of M. Kotzebue in any other light than a fallacy. In fact, I see no other means (in addition to those already provided) for obliging the students to

"live orderly," but that of planting cannon in each university. Whether the subject is sufficiently important to require such an arrangement, it is for the respective governments to decide.

It is next said that "nothing is more ridiculous and silly, than the assertion, that by the abolition of academical liberty (we call it unbridled freedom,) genius would not have room to expand." With due deference to the editor of the Literary Journal, I do not think he has made a more ridiculous observation than the above; for does not true genius burst all restraint? Shall our institutions for the forming of youth be only suitable to the rarity of genius, which so often disappoints expectation, or shall we make them fit for ordinary talent? "The school at Naumberg," continues M. Kotzebue, "was remarkable for an almost monastic severity, and yet the genius of Klopstock expanded there." How comes the word school to be introduced here? We are speaking of universities! But did not Klopstock, after leaving the monastic school, which I shall ever recollect with gratitude, study at Leipsic? Here, where academical liberty was infinitely greater than it is at present. This, therefore, becomes a strong argument against the Literary Journal. Such exam-

ples as the foregoing ought to be left in the back ground, by those who wish to prove the necessity of curtailing academical freedom.

"In the English universities, the students experience considerable privations, yet many men of great genius have issued from them." This I can readily believe if they went in! for the university never begets either a man or his genius: but what means this eternal recurrence to genius, as if its possessors were as numerous as the sands on the sea-shore? Does the editor of the Literary Journal wish to place our universities on the same principle as those of England? If so, let Germany have the privileges accorded by the British constitution *in its purity*, and I venture to assert the students will gladly embrace the change.

But with all the superiority of college discipline in England, how do those sciences which do not refer to the immediate uses of life, or mere amusement, flourish? How, for instance, is it with philosophy and metaphysics in that country? Has the mighty stream, whose source may be traced to the days of Locke, continued to run with equal force since his time? Has there been a Kant, a Reinhold, a Schelling, or Jacobi to refresh it? And even classical philosophy, in which Britons formerly shone so resplendent, is doubtless much more flourishing amongst us, as many highly distinguished names might be cited to

prove. It is true that England is rich in novel-writers, critics, and poets; but these are secondary branches of literature, and like painting they have been latterly cried up far above their proper level.* Let us, however, not envy the English their liberties; on the contrary, may those liberties rather increase than diminish, though what is left of them, must tend greatly to soften the restrictions of their university system, which, if I am rightly informed, does not prevent many excesses, though of a different description. We have always enjoyed a certain degree of freedom, in our own universities, and this we hope to retain, until a better system is obtained.†

* Surely the Professor is not acquainted with the poetry of Lord Byron, Mr. Moore, and a few others, who also shine in the constellation of which they form such brilliant luminaries?

† It is by no means difficult to anticipate the reception which this allusion to the universities and learning in England will experience, particularly amongst those who derive so many good appointments, and such large emoluments from them. That there are abuses, and of a very formidable kind in those glorious institutions, as well as in every other of a similar nature, the representations and opinions of many authentic writers are on record to attest. It would also be a very curious subject of inquiry, if any one competent to the performance of such a task, were to attempt ascertaining how far such opulently endowed establishments, in which a desire for patronage and place must influence so many, are calculated either to promote public liberty, or learning and the sciences? Without any wish of depreciating the benefits civilization has derived from these seats of wisdom, much less to put those of Germany in competition with them, the prodigious ad-

" The military schools and cadet corps, keep their pupils in strict subjection, and yet furnish many a hero, many a man of strong mind and rich understanding." They do not furnish, they receive them from the nation; and cannot, therefore, prevent him, who is destined for a hero, or a strong-minded man, from becoming one, as far, at least, as education goes. But why adduce this instance? Universities ought not to be conducted on the principle of schools, and least of all military ones. Even the editor himself, has, according to a former quotation, admitted that *school restraint* is not suited for a university. " Truly every father," adds M. Kotzebue, " who casts an anxious look on his son, would thank that government, which set the example of banishing

vancement made by that country, especially in the higher branches of human knowledge, during the short space of fifty or sixty years, unaided by any such wealthy resources or external support; is not only a most striking fact, but must tend materially to assist him who undertakes to form an estimate of the comparative advantages accruing from two systems so diametrically opposite.

With respect to the point of restrictions, it is a well known fact, that the greatest excesses committed by the youth of England, occur at schools which are remarkable for the severity of their discipline and restrictions, and not at our colleges. As to the violence attributed to the German students, without pronouncing any opinion on the subject, surely it is not for Englishmen to find fault with them, for joining the great body of their countrymen in the wish of obtaining that representative system to which we are indebted for all our own prosperity and greatness! Ed.

from its universities the unbridled and capricious will of the students." I admit that all "unbridled and capricious will," is pernicious, whether adopted by the student of a college, or exercised by a sovereign and his ministers. So that whatever government of Europe sets the laudable example of rooting it out, both from the universities and other places, may calculate on the heartfelt gratitude of all its subjects.

"For in this so-called academical liberty," proceeds M. Kotzebue, "it is but too true, that more good heads and hearts are lost, than have been thereby expanded." Now upon what this "too true," is founded, I am totally at a loss to conceive, as experience, which can alone decide in such a case, amply falsifies the whole assertion. Will any one take the trouble of making out a list of all those good hearts and heads that have been lost in the universities? Without such a list, how vain to deplore a loss that is unsupported by any proof. But such compassion as this passage contains, did not cost the Editor of the Literary Journal much exertion: he once energetically deplored that he was not the author of *Doctor Bahrdt with the iron forehead!* and on another occasion, lamented in equally passionate language he had not written *Expektorazionen!**

* The first of these two works has been already mentioned.

M. Kotzebue had certainly some reason to vituperate a few individuals within the walls of our higher seminaries; and this is not an age in which venal writers will hesitate to utter falsehoods, if their purpose is thereby answered. But why did the imperial Russian Counsellor wish to blacken the universities? In what respect had they injured him? Was it not to them he was chiefly indebted for his own improvement? Why, therefore, instead of manifesting so much ingratitude, did he not acknowledge the benefits they had conferred? The truth is, that in some of these universities, there were men, who published periodical works, and literary papers, which papers and works, occasionally took the liberty of criticizing somewhat too freely various publications that interested the editor of the Literary Journal! and having secured the countenance of Governments, his gratitude was forgotten, to be replaced by resentment. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ!* But the editor proceeds in a still more pathetic strain: "Yes! every childless artizan, if he be a friend to peace and order, would unite in grateful praise for such a measure; and Heaven defend us in Germany from a revolution; but

Both were dramatic satires on various literary characters of Germany, and equally reprobated by all liberal minded men.—Ed.

should there be one, what could the nation expect after such examples having been shown by our youth? Then might the latter justly reproach us for not making them better: for he who would rear a sapling, must not begin by exposing the weak shoot to the fury of the storm." It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the simile which denominates the student "a *weak shoot*, which is to be a sapling," combines all the qualities of absurdity and burlesque. For are not most of our students at that time of life, when they may have a progeny, and that princes are considered of age to reign? However calculated such lamentations are to excite risibility, this matter is too serious to justify laughter. I shall therefore treat it with becoming gravity. As the subject has been so much discussed, both in and out of the universities, I am also induced to beg that government would interfere, particularly as it has withdrawn the means of establishing the wished for regulations and order in their jurisdiction, from the respective provosts. The latter is a point that should be well remembered before judgment is passed. No authority on earth can act without the requisite means; how then is a provost divested of powers to do so? The title of *magnificus*, his purple robe, the trains of ermine, silver sceptre and golden crown, are estimated as they deserve; and I need hardly add that such outward

marks of dignity do not avail in our days: they even excite laughter or ridicule, if not connected with other and more significant attributes: yet, although they are taken from the provost, he is still expected to maintain order amongst those young men who come under their charge, and whose temperaments have, it is not denied, on some solitary occasions, led to a degree of perturbation, by no means favourable to the tranquil pursuits of learning, although rendered almost inevitable by the peculiar character of the times. It is notorious that many of the prerogatives allowed to provosts by our ancestors, have been either abrogated or assumed by the government. It is said the provost should influence chiefly by his moral conduct and personal dignity: granted; but all morality should have a physical basis, and this is not communicated by personal example. Admitting the justice of the foregoing position, it must be allowed that any man whose moral excellence is such, as to produce some effect on the youthful student; would be least likely to compromise it, by accepting a situation in which its efficacy would be more than problematical; and God knows there is nothing to render the office of provost one of pecuniary cupidity. The salary is scarcely worth naming: it is trebly earned by the harrassing nature of his duties; it is, in truth, little more than what the world is accustomed to

call a post of honour; but if stripped of all those attributes which make it respectable and dignified, does it not become one of shame and dissatisfaction?

How singular! that with powers so limited, and subject to the incessant dictum of their respective governments, not only the editor of the Literary Journal, but other writers on the same side, should recommend still greater restrictions from without; thus divesting the temples of knowledge and abodes of learning, of that independence, and those fascinations which can alone induce our youth to frequent them! And how, let me ask, have they deserved such a disgrace? Have the academical authorities ever opposed even-handed justice? Have they twisted right into wrong, or tolerated evil? Have they encouraged the law's delay more than others? Do they not submit their judgments to the college of decrees? These interrogatories might be extended much farther, but the subject is still open for discussion, and I must hasten to a conclusion. It remains for me to offer a few remarks on academical liberty, hitherto only treated, for the purpose of exposing the sophistical perplexity in which it was enveloped by an author, who seemed merely desirous of amusing his readers with sarcastic comments, or of gratifying his own selfish views.

According to my view of this matter, people generally speak of academical liberty, only as it relates to the students, looking upon it as a *negative* privilege, namely, the absence of that scholastic restraint they were under, previous to entering the university. Undoubtedly this negative quality belongs in a certain degree to academical liberty; and I have already shown why school restraint cannot exist in a university. Yet, there is another species of liberty attached to our great seminaries of a more positive kind, and which refers as much to the professors as to the students, I mean freedom of teaching, and freedom of hearing. The first of these consists of all those who are entered on the register of a university, and who have given sufficient proofs of their abilities, in any branch of knowledge, being allowed to teach others, that every established teacher may construct his lectures in the best way he can, without being bound to follow any written rules or specific plan of tuition. As what we call early teaching, (that communicated by such instructors as those alluded to above) is attained without interfering with more difficult or profound studies, no inconvenience can well arise from it; for however inadequate the self-elected instructor may be, he cannot but produce some advancement in the scholar. With respect, however, to the second point, I am inclined to more than doubt the expediency of

printed forms, or too methodical plans for teaching in universities: they not only cramp the mind, but impede the progress of knowledge. As merchants justly say to governments, *laissez nous faire!* so should the university teachers; and they might justly add, that knowledge advances still less than trade, when the precise form of lectures and technical rules are prescribed.*

* Amongst the numerous writers who have taken up the cause of the German universities, no one is more conspicuous than M. Villars, whose pamphlet entitled, *Coup d'Œil sur les Universités et le Mode d'Instruction publique de l'Allemagne, &c.* is a masterpiece in its way, and confers the highest honour on the author. This writer, though a Frenchman, has known how to appreciate the utility and importance of these seminaries, better than many of our ungrateful countrymen, who have joined in the senseless clamour against them. M. Villars concludes a mass of convincing arguments supported by many facts, with the following very judicious observation. "To lower the universities from the rank they occupy, remove them to a distance from the throne, and take away their attributes, would be to continue the obligation of performing their functions, while every means of doing so was destroyed. It would, in fact, be to depreciate them, inflict a mortal wound on their general organization, and lay the foundation of their speedy extinction!" The concluding paragraph of this eloquent writer's book is also worth transcribing: "What is the result then of the foregoing observations? It is that every nation, distinguished from others, by its manners, language, taste, and habits, possesses a character, particular mode of viewing things, localities, and manner of living peculiar to itself, which it is extremely difficult, if not impossible to change. Civilized nations seem to participate in, and divide the various sources of glory, emulating each other by cultivating all the different branches of human

Though the mercantile world has its own interest in view, yet governments take good care to profit by the prosperity of trade. The teachers at universities, on the contrary, gain nothing by the success of their lessons. If profit was the object, then indeed would the professors gladly

knowledge. Italy, for instance, is distinguished for its love of the fine arts; England for its successful progress in the mechanical and useful ones, political science and commerce. France cultivates the higher branches of science and natural history. Finally, Germany, profound erudition and abstruse thinking, together with those metaphysical pursuits which tend at once to raise and ennoble the mind of man. In obeying this indication of Providence, it is the interest of all, to let each remain as they are, and to encourage them in advancing on that path which the impulsion of nature has directed. The peculiar genius of Germany has led to a system of public instruction, extremely well understood and combined, and above all to some schools of a higher nature, which have never been exceeded in any age or country.—These universities, placed in the centre of Europe, appear destined to become, and are, in fact, institutions to which all the other nations pay tribute, while they participate in the benefits that spring from such establishments. These abodes of learning go to establish a species of moral tie between the different states, forming a point of contact, that cannot fail greatly to promote the general interests of civilization. But in order that they should fulfil their useful and important destination, to secure a continuance of those advantages, no less important than multiplied, which they have hitherto rendered the country, it is necessary to leave their existence entire, together with their physical means, authority, liberty and consideration." Such was the advice given by a Frenchman to a French Government in Germany, and *his advice was followed.* Shall original and free German governments do less? DEUS OMEN AVERTAT!

avail themselves of written rules, as it would greatly diminish their trouble; for instead of puzzling their own brains to devise modes of improving the pupils, they would merely have to adhere to a dull routine, which though it suited the plodding portion of the students, might obstruct the progress of those endowed with genius and talents. Arguing upon this principle, it is only the worst teachers and least enlightened professors, who can advocate the insipid monotony of rules and regulations, in promoting the higher branches of education.

Freedom of hearing, consists in the students being permitted to fix on teachers of their own choice, as well as attend lectures on the same footing; finally, that they shall have the privilege of dividing their time, between lectures, private tuition and recreation. Long experience convinces me, that there is no mischief whatever to be apprehended from this plan. My own has invariably been to begin with discussing the first elemental principles of ethics, and the Philosophical Encyclopedia; thence proceeding to theoretical; and, lastly, to practical philosophy. I have, however, met with several students, and those by no means the least clever, who followed the opposite plan; first hearing the practical, and finishing where I have been in the habit of commencing. Although this mode is certainly in

opposition to the progressive and analytical plan, it has its advantages, as the first is calculated for some pupils, and the second for others. By this sort of liberty, the student is enabled to select what may be best suited to the powers and expansion of his understanding. It must not, however, be for a moment imagined, that the foregoing privilege on the part of students, tends to make the teachers and professors too dependent on their approbation, and are therefore over-indulgent. Its chief effect, hitherto, has been to excite a praiseworthy emulation amongst the students as well as their teachers.

These points I am led to regard as the essence of ACADEMIC LIBERTY, all others being accidental and dependent on them, without influencing either the march of science, or advancement of knowledge.

If I am asked whether this liberty may not be abused, I shall reply, most certainly it may, like every other! Must it not therefore be set aside? Unquestionably not! But surely there ought to be laws, for the purpose of keeping students within bounds, and in the right track? Assuredly; but there are such laws already, and in abundance: each university has its academical laws; this code is laid before every student on his first entrance, and the latter makes a vow to obey its various enactments: but my opponent will reply, if these

laws are not kept, of what use are they? Precisely of the same use as all other laws, which are violated by some individuals. But, it will next be asked, are not the provosts in fault, for not causing them to be enforced? Alas! the poor provosts, to whom are daily sent younger and more unripe pupils, who are incapable of guiding themselves amongst more experienced and matured companions; how extremely hard to blame men whose means of executing justice is so limited, while the real error is on the side of government!

While the ministers of large kingdoms, and magistrates of cities with overstrained powers, and all other physical means of enforcing the laws, cannot always prevent a breach of them, how can the superintendent of the university do so with his circumscribed means and inadequate powers? A man of talents and address may certainly make a great deal out of comparatively small means; but it is only for the Divinity alone to create, and as yet, he has unfortunately not condescended to divide his power with the provost of a German university!

To attribute crimes such as that lately committed at Manheim to all the universities, and to punish them by abolishing academical liberty, is contrary to every principle of law and justice. Those who are guilty, should be punished, to the utmost extent of the laws. Even if we could

imagine the improbable, the almost impossible case, of a whole university professors and students, participating in illegal practices, let the university be broken up, and the ringleaders handed over to condign punishment. But in the name of common sense, do not make learning suffer because a few individuals have offended the laws.

In those days of political agitation and party distinction, when faction is contending for power on the one hand, and people sighing for their freedom on the other, no wonder that suspicion should fall heavily on the German universities, which have always been justly celebrated for their patriotism and love of rational liberty. But I strenuously recommend our youth, who devote themselves to science and study, not to sully their reputation or impede their progress to the temple of wisdom, by abandoning the path traced out when first consigned to the walls of a university. Let them studiously avoid all associations that have not the promotion of science, and bonds of social intercourse in view; every other being foreign to their business and adverse to their happiness! Uninfluenced by the example of that writer, whose unmerited strictures it has been my humble office to refute, as well as many others of the same class, let the students of Germany judge of men and books with becoming can-

dour and less asperity. Least of all, I would conjure them to wage any war but that of the pen; for they are not destined for grand inquisitors, but peaceful members of society. When they meet with any address or publication that deals in darkness and obscurity, which contains neither facts to prove, or arguments to convince; bewildering the understanding, and setting conscience at defiance, how easy to close their eyes and ears: otherwise they may be assured that some of the poison will be imbibed. Finally, may their future conduct be such as to put calumny to flight, without abandoning the cause of their country or the interests of virtue!

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